

California Historical Quarterly

winter 1977/78

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, works to preserve the historical source materials on which cultural understanding is built; to serve as a clearing house for scholarship which may influence the paths of knowledge; and, by presenting to the public historical publications, programs, and services, to enable people to examine, evaluate, and question the intellectual, social, political, economic, and aesthetic traditions that shape their lives in California today. All are invited to join.

Published continuously since 1922, the *California Historical Quarterly* is the Society's ongoing vehicle of inquiry and the only magazine exclusively devoted to California history from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, book reviews, and pictorial essays explore the state's social, economic, political, ethnic, and aesthetic heritage, encouraging examination of the interplay between the past and present.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Royal Robert Bush, Santa Barbara
Robert Carpenter, Los Angeles
George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco
Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Joseph Esherich, Berkeley
Fred S. Farr, Monterey
Harvey Glasser, Alameda
Clarence E. Heller, Atherton
Knox Mellon, Jr., Sacramento
W. E. van Löben Sels, Oakville
Mrs. Maurice Machris, Los Angeles
Mrs. Lionel Ogden, Los Angeles
Mrs. Lawrence O'Neill, Los Angeles
Rodman W. Paul, Pasadena
Hon. Robert F. Peckham, Palo Alto
Mrs. Bland Platt, San Francisco
Thomas V. Reeve II, Santa Ana
Albert Shumate, San Francisco
Mrs. Eleanor F. Sloss, San Francisco
Mrs. Hadley Stuart, Los Angeles
Waller Taylor II, Los Angeles
Brian Thompson, Castro Valley
Hugh C. Tolford, Van Nuys

EMERITI

Mrs. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
Mrs. Francis D. Frost, Jr., Pasadena

OFFICERS

Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
President
Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Vice-President
Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Treasurer

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Richard Reinhardt, *Chairman*; Frank G. Goodall, Don Hata, William L. Kahrl, Leonard Leader, Henry Mayer, Knox Mellon, Jr., Robert H. Power, Charles Wollenberg

STAFF

J. S. Holliday, *Executive Director*; Stephen R. Shapiro, *Development and Education*; Pamela L. Seager, *Executive Assistant*; Lynda Bourdet, *Staff Assistant*; Joan L. Kerr, *Director of Finance and Personnel*; Ingrid Ford, *Communications and Membership Development Assistant*; Catherine A. Hoover, *Exhibits Curator*; Robert Sawchuck, *Assistant Curator*; Connie Hammerman, *Docent Coordinator*; Renee Grignard Eaton, *Public Programs*; Marcelle Barosi, *Distribution Manager*; Marilyn Ziebarth, *Managing Editor*; Cassy Quintal, *Courier Editor*; Gary F. Kurutz, *Library Director*; Joan Alpert, *Administrative Assistant*; Lynn Bonfield Donovan, *Manuscript Librarian*; Laverne Mau Dicker, *Photographs Curator*; Joy Berry and Natalie Cowan, *Reader Service Librarians*; Judy Cohen and Karen Pollach, *Cataloguers*; Maude K. Swingle, *Reference Librarian*; Gerald D. Wright, *Genealogy Librarian*; James deT. Abajian, *Kemble Collections*; Colin Oakey, *Buildings and Properties Manager*.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: David Clark, *Director for Southern California*; Margaret O. Eley, *Administrative Assistant*; Bonny Brittain, *Exhibits Assistant*; Helen Hankins, *Communications Assistant*; Joey Parker, *Caretaker*.

Published quarterly by CHS

Annual subscription and membership \$20.00
Student subscription and membership \$10.00

Single issues \$3.60
Back issues and microfilm and xerograph facsimile copies available.

©1978 by California Historical Society
2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109
(#415/567-1848)
1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino 91108
(#213/449-5450)

Articles for publication, books for review, and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Editor, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco 94109. Articles and notes should be typed on separate sheets, double-spaced, and submitted in triplicate with a large stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for contributors' statements or opinions.

LC 75-640289
ISSN 0008-1175
Second-class postage paid at
San Francisco, California
Publication number 084180

COVER

Artist Maynard Dixon isolated the visual expanses and planes of the Grand Canyon for this mural at the Los Angeles ticket office of the Santa Fe Railroad. Painted in 1946 with the assistance of his wife Edith Hamlin and associates, it was the final work in a prolific career that began in California and ended in the desert Southwest. The article beginning on page 290 focuses on the relationship of Dixon's little-known poetry to his paintings and murals.

California Historical Quarterly

PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

VOLUME LVI WINTER 1977/78 NO. 4

J. S. HOLLIDAY
Director

MARILYN ZIEBARTH
Managing Editor

CHARLES WOLLENBERG
Reviews Editor

ANNA MARIE HAGER
Editorial Assistant

HARLEAN RICHARDSON
Designer

Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter:
The Dual Art of Maynard Dixon 290
by KEVIN STARR

The Challenge to Philanthropy:
Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932 310
by RONALD L. NYE

Farm Gentry *vs.* the Grangers:
Conflict in Rural California 328
by GERALD L. PRESCOTT

REVIEWS

"From the Place We Hear About . . .": A Descriptive Check List of
Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection 346
by CATHERINE HOOVER *and* ROBERT SAWCHUCK

Book Reviews 368

California Check List 380

Volume Contents 385

Volume Index 389

PAINTERLY POET,

Readers of the California Historical Society's recently published *Rim-Rock and Sage: The Collected Poems of Maynard Dixon with Drawings* have a treat—and a surprise in store. Lafayette Maynard Dixon (1875–1946), one of the finest painters ever to make a career in the American West, turns out also to have been a very competent and sometimes superb poet: an impassioned, honest, verbally adroit versifier, whose poetry, carried on privately and often at periods of great emotional stress, now comes before the public some eighty-one years after he composed his first poem, “January,” a haiku-like evocation of a quiet mountain winter landscape.

In and of themselves, Dixon's poems are worthwhile. They record the fifty-year intellectual, imaginative, and emotional adventure of a major artist. They take us from the luxuriance of *fin de siècle* San Francisco to the chromatic austerity of the desert Southwest. They crackle with the give-and-take of social and aesthetic debate. They soar with mystical lyricism. They seethe with sensuous yearning; explore the darker, despairing sides of Dixon's mind; suggest moments of repose and spiritual peace. Set in counterpoint with Dixon's tumultuous, struggling life, moreover, and in dialogue with his pictorial art, Dixon's poems say something about the nature of poetry itself: how, that is, poetry can be a useful, almost everyday affair, a way of sorting out concepts, dealing with stress, or rescuing a special moment

Dr. Starr is a columnist for the *San Francisco Examiner* and author of *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915*, and Adjunct Professor of English at the University of Santa Clara.

A shorter version of this article first appeared as the introductory essay to the recent CHS publication, *Rim-Rock and Sage: The Collected Poems of Maynard Dixon with Drawings* (1977).

from the oblivion of time. Maynard Dixon wrote poetry for the same reason he painted pictures. He had to. He was an artist possessed by an inner vision that demanded the externalized expression of words on paper or paint on canvas.

The artist's poems—164 in number and only recently assembled from widely scattered sources by Edith Hamlin, the artist's widow—are doubly precious because Lafayette Maynard Dixon was not an easy man to know. There was an aloofness, an essential reserve, to his personality—an incipiently sardonic detachment, if you will, masking the passionate, raging life within. Born in Fresno of Confederate stock, Maynard Dixon grew up a lonely boy with poor health, in a family sensitive to social caste. His father, Harry St. John Dixon, son of a Mississippi plantation owner, acquitted himself nobly in the Confederate cavalry during the War between the States, lost everything during Reconstruction, then migrated to the San Joaquin Valley in central California to begin a new life as a lawyer-rancher. Maynard Dixon's maternal grandfather, Lafayette Maynard, resigned his naval commission in 1848 when his ship docked at San Francisco in protest to what he felt was an unjust war against Mexico, then settled in the city as a venture capitalist and social leader of San Francisco's fashionable southern set. In Fresno young Maynard's father took the lead in local political and civic affairs (until a nervous breakdown overcame him). When he organized the Veterans of the Blue and Gray and marched with them down Fresno's main thoroughfare, young Maynard led the way as drummer-boy. He was a frail, somewhat high-strung, boy, asthmatic, but he knew what he wanted.

Dixon began drawing at the age of seven. As a young

POETIC PAINTER

teenager he studied the illustrations in *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and *Art Journal*, developing a quick, direct sketching style of his own. At sixteen, he sent a portfolio of his work to the great western illustrator, Frederic Remington, who responded with warm encouragement and wrote Dixon that he sketched better than Remington had at a comparable age. Dixon quit school soon thereafter, preferring to develop in his own way. This pattern of inner-directed independence, in matters of both life and art, would be a lifelong characteristic. "So live," Maynard Dixon would be saying by 1896, "that you can look every damn man in the eye and tell him to go to hell."

Dixon, of course, was protesting too much. His inner life, as revealed in many of his poems, was never so unambiguously assertive. At a number of times in his life he came near to collapse. His father, after all, had shattered completely in 1891 and spent his last years as a mental invalid. Like another great Californian, the philosopher Josiah Royce, Maynard Dixon inherited a certain tenuity of nerves. He kept them under control in the long run, making them serve his creativity, but now and then, in times of great stress, they threatened his stability. In 1917, for instance, he himself admitted that he almost became insane. Dixon's first wife, the artist Lillian West Tobey, had by 1915 or so sunk into dipsomania. Dixon himself was hopelessly in love with the New York playwright Sophie Treadwell (much of his early erotic poetry was inspired by this affair). Torn between his love for Sophie Treadwell and his sense of obligation to his troublesome, alcoholic wife, the mother of his beloved daughter Constance, Dixon sunk further and further into gloom. On one desperate occasion when he urged his wife to enter a hospital, she tried to shoot

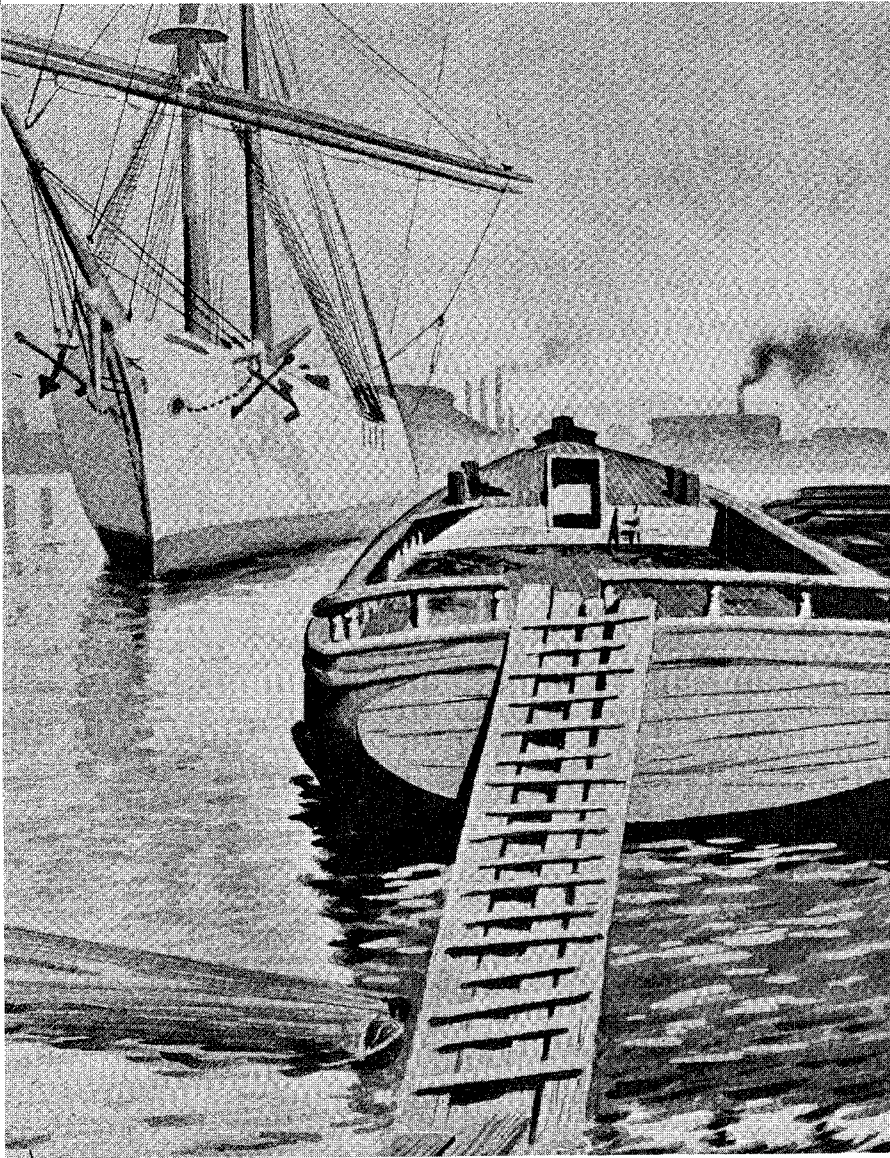
the dual art of Maynard Dixon



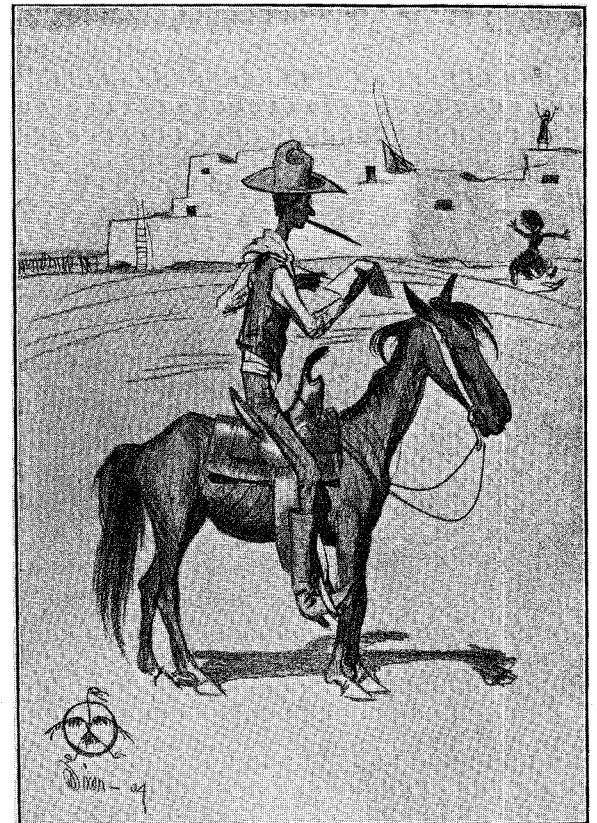
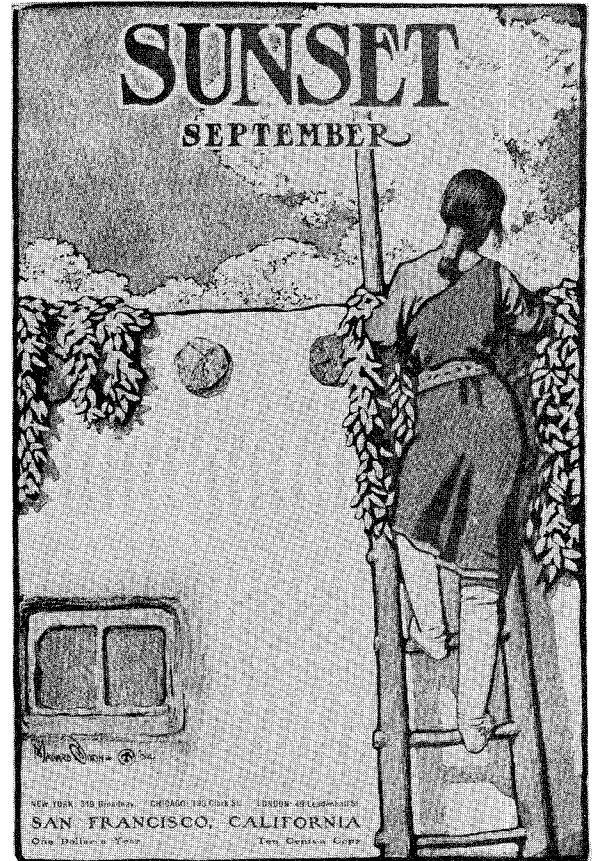
Independent and inner-directed, the young artist posed in 1895 wearing the cowboy garb that he knew from his boyhood.

*Stimulated by the German Expressionists,
Dixon's cover illustrations for Sunset
magazine between 1904 and 1906 reflect
a new boldness in style and use of color.*

*After a brief three months of formal art
training in San Francisco, nineteen-year-old
Dixon turned to freelance illustration with
drawings such as Oakland Creek (1895)
for The Overland Monthly.*



*Dixon's self-cartoon made light of his artistically important expedition
with Xavier Martinez through the Southwest and Mexico in 1904.*



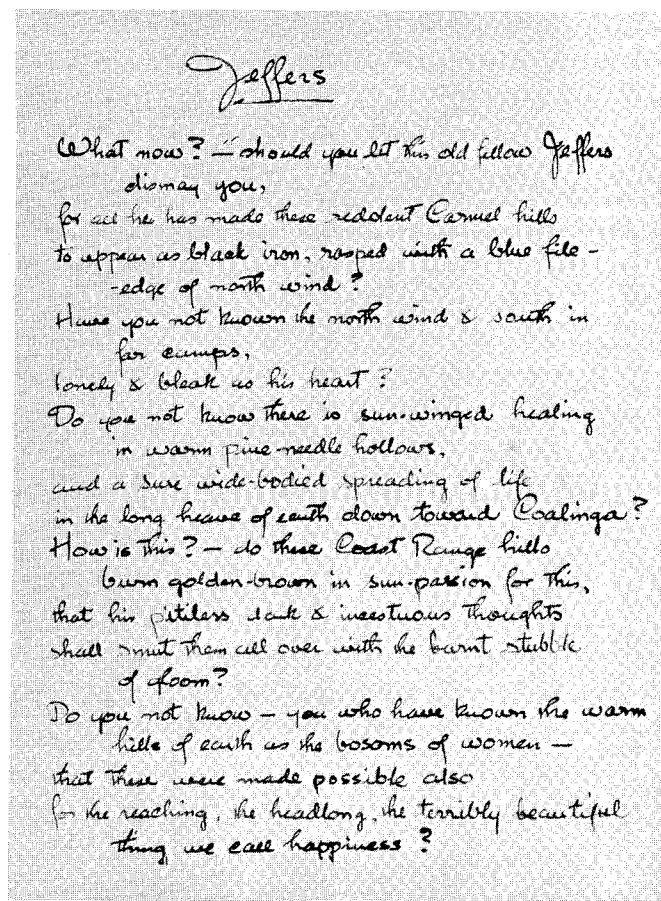
"Jeffers," an affirmative poem of 1925,
reflects Dixon's albeit temporary triumph
over his own dark thoughts.

him. Dixon moved into his San Francisco studio at 728 Montgomery Street, a physical, emotional, and mental wreck. For the next three months, rheumatism kept him confined to bed, and "a darkness in the mind" overwhelmed his will to live. An artist's model befriended him, helping Dixon through what he later described as a period of "complete misery and despair—[the] verge of insanity."

Many of Dixon's poems of this period are acts of autotherapy. In times of great stress, he could in this way make order out of chaos. Like Edgar Allan Poe, whom he discusses in one of the poems from this period, Dixon learned that imagery, symbol, patterned word-music, and expressed, disciplined emotion could help dispel the terror of the darkness. By 1925, in fact, in the poem "Jeffers," Dixon had recovered enough to upbraid the Carmel seer for allowing too much pessimism to creep into his narrative verse.

At the risk of extreme statement, it might be said that Maynard Dixon was a practicing poet well before he was a practicing painter. He wrote a significant number of very good poems more than a decade before he produced comparably excellent paintings. Dixon started early as an illustrator, but he was forty-five before he devoted his major energies to oil painting, and he was into his fifties before he began the major phase of his career.

Money—or rather the necessity to earn money—kept Dixon enmeshed in commercial art for the better part of his youth and early middle-age. After a brief three months in 1893 at the forerunner of the San Francisco Art Institute, Dixon, age nineteen, quit to support himself as a free-lance illustrator. In 1899 *The Overland Monthly* commissioned him to illustrate two Alaskan short stories—"The Son of the Wolf" and "In a Far Country"—written by another young aspirant, Jack London. In 1895 Dixon joined the *San Francisco Morning Call* as a staff artist, later transferring to the *Examiner* when he received a better financial offer. He designed



and illustrated the Sunday supplement, working with such *Examiner*-connected worthies as Frank Norris, Jack London, Ambrose Bierce, Edwin Markham, and Kathleen Norris. Dixon hated being chained to a desk, however, or being at the beck and call of an editor, so in early 1900 he left full-time newspaper work and supported himself once again as a free-lancer for the *Chronicle*, *Bulletin*, *Sunset*, and *Pacific Monthly*.

The first decade of the century was a grand, glorious time in San Francisco's artistic and literary history, and Maynard Dixon, despite the fatiguing, precarious finances of artistic piecework, became part of it. For some ten years or so he savored *la vie boheme* in America's most charmingly bohemian city. He joined George Sterling, Porter Garnett, Isabel Fraser, Xavier Martinez, the Irwin brothers, Will and Wallace, sculptor Robert Aitken, and the others for wine and pasta at the long table at Coppa's. Artists Gottardo Piazzoni and Xavier Martinez, whom he had met at the art institute, were special friends. In 1904 Dixon and Martinez traveled to Mexico City and Guadalajara, Dixon learning Spanish

Returning to California, Dixon exhibited at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition and sold several of his first paintings including Corral Dust.

and storing up in his imagination thousands of colorful images of the culture that had given birth to California and the Southwest. Something of a bohemian himself, he affected an intersection of the cowboyish and the urbane in his dress (a suit and a tie, but also a Stetson, riding boots, and, hanging from his belt on a watch fob, a hammered metal thunderbird—which he also used with his signature on his canvases). Dixon joined the Bohemian Club of San Francisco in 1902, where he hobnobbed with the likes of London, Norris, and such fellow artists as Martinez (whom he loved), William Keith (whose work he disliked, feeling that Keith's overly romantic Barbizon landscapes held western painting enthralled), Virgil Williams, Porter Garnett, Ernest Peixotto, and Charles Rollo Peters.



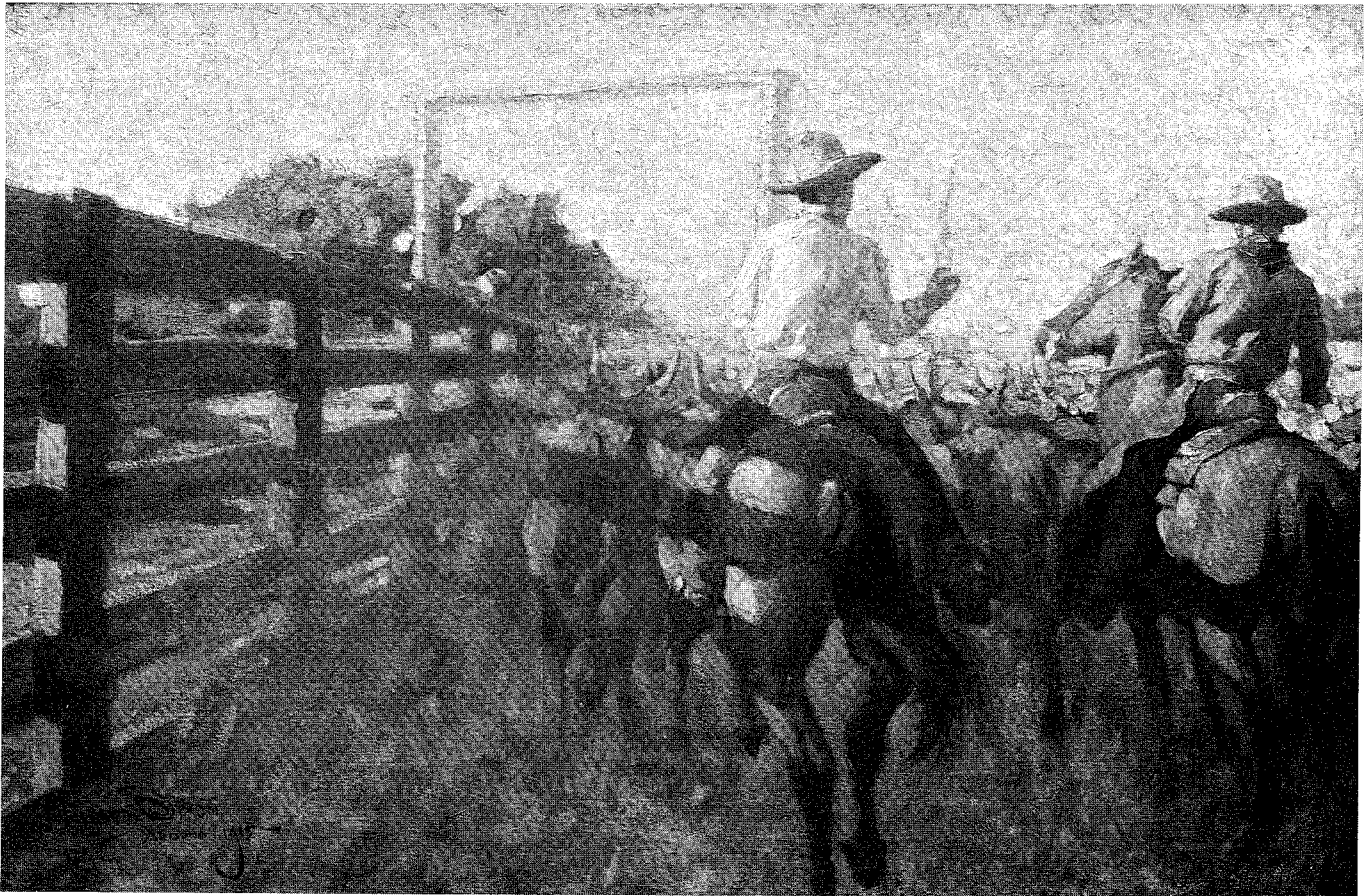
Mountain Man, a 1912 sketch for a magazine illustration.

In 1905 Dixon held an exhibition at the Bohemian Club, his first show. Former San Francisco Mayor James Duval Phelan, a Bohemian, had the distinction (later a distinction, but at the time an act of discernment and encouragement) of being the first person ever to buy a Maynard Dixon painting, *Thunderheads*. Dixon also exhibited that year at the San Francisco Art Association in the Mark Hopkins mansion atop Nob Hill and at the Palace Hotel.

Although the outdoor West, especially the Southwest, together with the Indian, proved Maynard Dixon's enduring themes, he was for some forty years a San Francisco-based artist. The early poem, "World's End" (1896) expresses Dixon's ambivalent relationship to the city which would hold him one way or another until 1939. "I am a city's wretched unwilling guest," Dixon reflects, "Would I might wander where the great Southwest lies throbbing with the pulses of the sun. . . ." In both life and art, he got his wish.

But not before he served a period of exile. A collapsing brick chimney missed Dixon by inches in the earthquake of April 18, 1906, and fire destroyed his studio. Dixon was barely able to carry away some sketches (much of his work was lost) and a few Navajo blankets. He tried to make a new start but got nowhere. Like others—Kathleen Norris, the Irwin brothers, even George Sterling for a time—Dixon headed for New York, provisioned with \$500 and a set of cross-country tickets paid for by his first mural commission for the Southern Pacific Railway's Tucson office.

Dixon never had any trouble surviving as a commercial artist in New York. *Century*, *Scribner's*, *McClure's*, *Munsey's*—the magazines bought his work, illustrations, in the main for western adventure stories. By 1907 he could afford his own studio in the Lincoln Arcade at 1947 Broadway. He did not, however, relish his New York life. He made money (he was, after all, one of the best illustrators in a golden age of magazine illustration), but it pained him to foster a romanticized, commercial-



ized image of western life and to be subservient to a potboiler storyline. His wife Lillian, furthermore, was beginning to show signs of ill health and alcoholic problems. The Dixons left New York for Yonkers, Yonkers for Vermont, and Vermont for Connecticut in desperate search of a place where Lillian, with their young daughter Constance, could find peace and health. Finally, Dixon decided to return to California.

“As a painter,” Maynard Dixon would later say, “I date from 1912.” That was the year Mrs. Anita Baldwin McClaughry, daughter of E. J. “Lucky” Baldwin of the Rancho Santa Anita nestled against the oak-covered San Gabriel foothills, commissioned Dixon to paint a series of murals in her new mansion at Sierra Madre near Pasadena. Dixon produced a series of Indian subjects—*Victory Song*, *Envoys of Peace*, *The Pool*, *Ghost Eagle*,—which won rave reviews from

the Los Angeles *Times*, national art magazines, and most important, Mrs. McClaughry herself, who voluntarily increased Dixon’s commission from \$8,000 to \$10,000. Encouraged, Dixon broke permanently from New York, returned to San Francisco (he moved into the Osborne House at the corner of Lombard and Hyde, where Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson had stayed), and began painting on his own. Between 1912 and 1919 he produced more than one-hundred and thirty canvases, eighty of which he sold. In 1915, a dark and horrible period in his private life, he nonetheless exhibited fifty-one paintings at the Bohemian Club and won a bronze medal at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition before retreating to his studio in a state of physical and emotional collapse.

For all his aloofness, his stance of cursed independence, Maynard Dixon needed people. Three women—the unnamed model of 1917; his second wife, the photographer Dorothea Lange whom he married in 1920; and his third wife and surviving widow, artist Edith Hamlin—pulled him through periods of physical and psycho-

Self-exiled to New York and soon a successful illustrator, Dixon expressed his homesickness for the West in poems such as "Nudism" (1910).

Nudism

Who has not shed his city hue
to splash a mountain stream, or run
nude naked on the windy hills,
or lain bare in the sand & sun,
or walked unclad the summer night
in intimacy with a star
has never known what Nature is
nor what his soul & senses are.

logical devastation. Charles Fletcher Lummis, editor of *Land of Sunshine* and southwesterly-extraordinary, gave Dixon his first public recognition in the December, 1898, issue of his magazine, and the two men kept up a twenty-year correspondence. Dixon produced decorative metal work for El Alisal, Lummis' superb Spanish hacienda on the Arroyo Seco outside Pasadena, where Dixon and his first wife were married. "Pop Lummis," Dixon later said, "was in effect my foster father over those years. Lummis gave me new confidence in my ideals of truthfulness in my work, and fortitude in facing the commercial world." Sell drawings, Lummis advised, but don't sell yourself. And above all else, he admonished, keep "writing good honest verse, as an aid to your pictorial art." "You are really about as much a poet as an artist," Lummis observed, "and that is one reason your pictures are the fine things they are. It will do you good not merely to get them off your mind, but through your mind. Every poem you write is a help to a picture you are to paint."

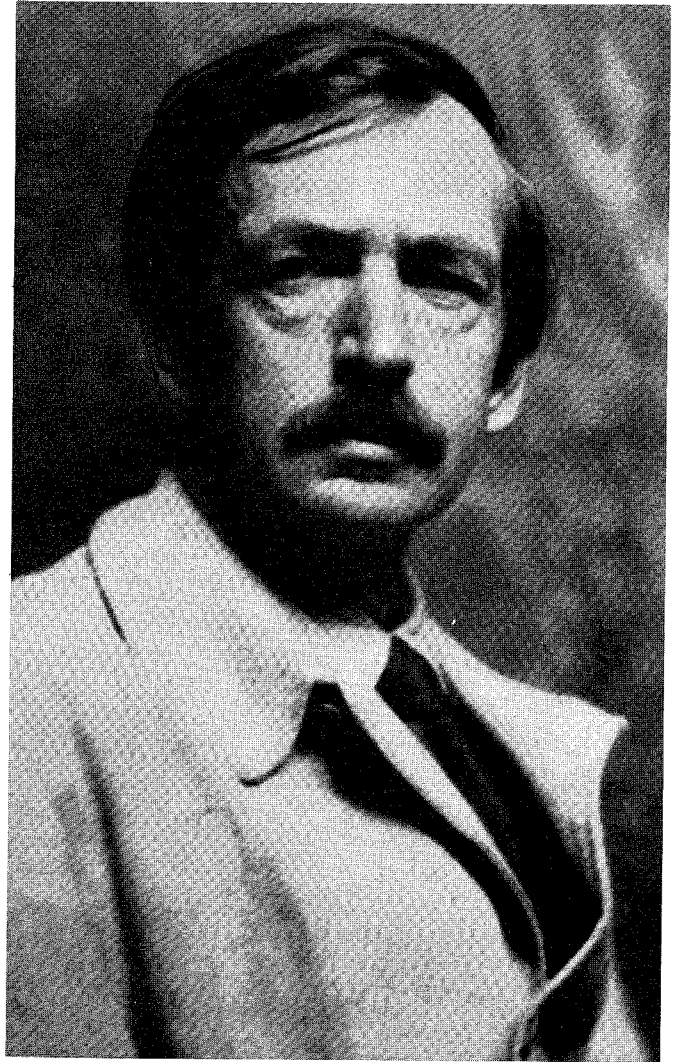
What Charles Fletcher Lummis suggested some

seventy years ago is one of the major delights of this volume: the discovery that in the unfolding of Dixon's painterly talent, poetry led the way. Had Dixon considered himself a professional poet and published these poems as he wrote them, among his contemporaries only Robinson Jeffers and the still-to-be discovered David Starr Jordan, founding president of Leland Stanford Junior University, would have outstripped him in poetic power and skill. This, obviously, reflects the dearth of great California poets through the 1920's, but it also suggests the range, competence, and vigor of Dixon's verse. Long before he found his vocation or his style as a painter, Maynard Dixon, a lover of the poetry of Walt Whitman, found a bold, sane, independent poetic voice.

The autobiographical inspiration behind these poems is constant. As a closet poet, Dixon wrote primarily as a diarist, in search of private order, lament, or celebration. Sex, aesthetics, the Southwest, the constant drama in his storm-tossed soul—Dixon poured his life into these poems. Love-making he frequently celebrates with an incandescent eroticism, at once gentle and fierce. "I know/thy naked body, trembling-passionate," he exults in "Metamorphosis," a poem both sensuous and subtly spiritual, light-years away in frankness and excellence from anything comparable being written or published in California in 1903. "One Little Hour" is explicit and tender ("What glory mounts to meet me as I lean/ Yearning above you?"). "Delirium" is detailed and eager ("Ah, cling 'round my waist/As you quiver at touch of the life that I give you"). "You Only" holds the tormented poignancy of sexual loss ("Never mind how sweet her body may be,/She is not you—oh, no she could never be you!").

Dixon struggled into middle age before he achieved stability of vocation, and his poems reflect both the torment and the resolution of that artistic odyssey. The early poem "Asi, El Mundo" (c. 1910) contains the powerful image of a city-bound toiler faced by a stranger

*Dixon in 1925, fifty years old with
unanswered questions and great canvases
yet to be painted.*



with a saddled horse (“Now I am riding away/between hills where the rain-shadows run,/into the eye of the sun,/out of the edge of the day”)—certainly a compelling fantasy for the New York-trapped Dixon who dreamed of freedom in the West. “Toward Beauty” shows Dixon in the first flush of exultation after commencing his full-time artistic career. In “An Arrow to the Sun” an aged Indian thanks the sun for accepting a delayed, second sacrifice—the objectification of Dixon’s own gratitude over getting started as a painter in his early forties, overdue, but, like the Indian’s arrow shot to the sun, keeping to its flight. “Work is the only answer,” Dixon once said—a sentiment expressed in “Visionary,” one of his most powerful poems and a pithy, laconic credo of artistic purpose written in 1923 in the midst of a period of extraordinary accomplishment and creativity.

For Dixon, poetry was a way of prefigurement, even prophecy, as well as a means of autobiographical statement. Many of his poems anticipate themes and moods later realized more fully in his paintings. This volume begins with “January,” an 1896 effort exuding an ambiance of patterned stillness and repose which characterizes Dixon’s most mature graphic work. Another early poem, “Gloaming” (c. 1903), has the same Zen-like stillness. “Pueblo De Los Muertos” is in itself a perfectly realized poem-picture which anticipates by some two decades the simple, flat, direct style Dixon eventually came to favor when depicting Indians graphically. “Here is the World” reflects perfectly the bold, unadorned style of Dixon’s mature mode. The color-scheme of “The Sweat-Lodge” (1917) runs three years ahead of the astonishing blues and greens of *The Pony Boy* (1920), the first masterpiece of Dixon’s high period. By then the gap between Dixon’s accomplishment as a poet and a painter had narrowed, then converged. *The Pony Boy* is better art than any poem Dixon ever wrote. By age forty-five, the painter in Dixon had outstripped the poet, but they had competed for nearly twenty-five years. The poem “Shaman’s

Song” (1919), for instance, anticipates by thirteen years *Earth Knower* (1932), now in the Oakland Museum (and, I feel, Dixon’s single greatest painting), but *Earth Knower* is a masterpiece by anyone’s standards, while “Shaman’s Song” is but a very good poem. Perhaps the most pleasing and skillful of these poems of preparatory aesthetic adventure and debate is “Toward Beauty,” a poem of crystalline statement.

Until the last years of his life, Dixon based himself in San Francisco, but his heart, and imagination, and the constant subject of his brush and poems were in the American Southwest. From 1900 to 1946 Dixon made innumerable trips into the desert and high country of the old Spanish territories, the land of little rain. Charles Fletcher Lummis helped sponsor his first expedition in 1900, Dixon having saved \$1000 of his hard-earned

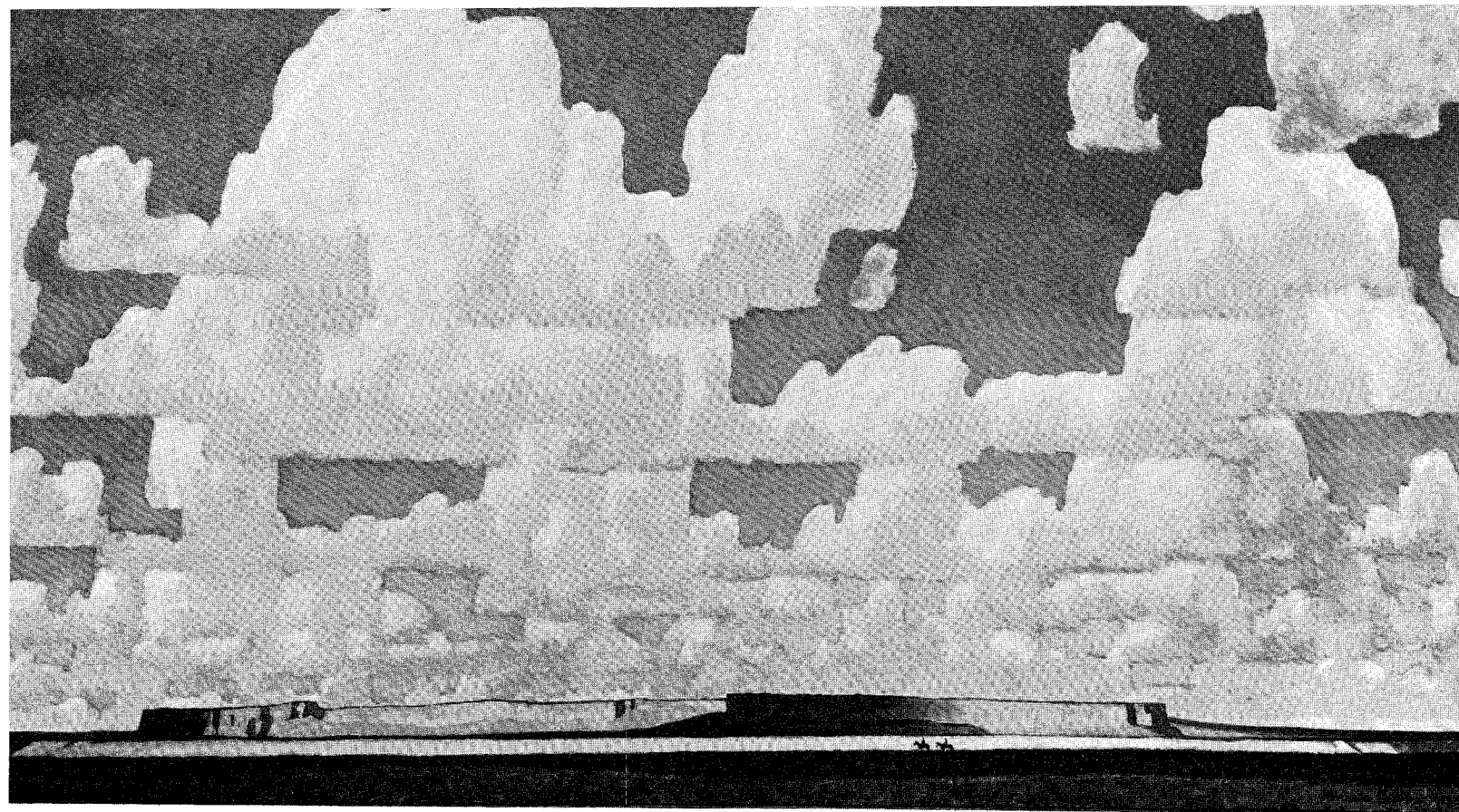
Examiner wages. A trip to the Southwest, Lummis advised Dixon, would alleviate Dixon's nervous strain and help him focus his developing talent. Lummis introduced Dixon to the Indians of Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico, and Head-man Juan Rey Abeita took in Dixon and Lummis for several weeks. Seeing the Indians going about their daily lives, reverberating to the drama of desert color and the cloud-architecture of the sky, Dixon found his life's work as a painter—or at least the subject of his life's work, for it would be twelve years or so before he devoted himself full time to his art. He also visited Arizona in 1902, stopping at Ganado with Indian trader J. L. Hubbell, who lived like an old Spanish hidalgo surrounded by Navajo retainers. During this trip Dixon stayed for the first time with the Hopi and the Navajo, the noble people, Homeric in dignity, who would fill hundreds of his canvases in various guises and attitudes: craftsman, shaman, shepherd, weaver, warrior, worshipper—captured in superb color rivaling that of the desert itself and presented in the bold, direct technique of Dixon's mature style.

My Country

*O loose the grim giant edges of the rocks,
the great bare backbone of the Earth,
rough brows & heaved-up shoulders,
round ribs & knees of the world's skeleton
protuded in lonely places;
where from ledges of sun-silenced cliffs
the wild war eagle dips ardent
blue extacies of air
to the delicate deep fringes of the pines;
the long-returning curves of solid hills
that bend the wind along the dappled sky;
or far-drawn leads of red mesa-lands,
receding infinitely, step on step on step . . .
and grandeur of all grandeur, over all
the high commanding glory of the sun!*

But these images were still in the future. As usual, poetry led the way. Three early poems—"La Canción Mexicana" (1900), "Desert Camp" (c. 1913), and "The Grand Canyon" (1915)—are special milestones on the road to Dixon's southwesternness. The first poem vibrates with the romance of Old Mexico and her northern territories. "Desert Camp" shows the luxuriant Southwest ("the Southland of roses, in languorous midnight") giving way to something more severe and ultimately more compelling—the spiritual or ghostly Southwest ("the secret thoughts of the earth and their meaning") that haunts a hundred Dixon canvases, the Southwest of Indian religion, tribal magic, and the Spirit of the Arroyo. "The Grand Canyon" is a great, big old-fashioned meditation on the permanence of nature and the transitoriness of human effort. It shows Dixon in the year 1915 at just that point of awareness—and poetic skill—as another Californian brooding on a similar theme, Robinson Jeffers.

In 1923 Dixon and his second wife Dorothea Lange, who loved the Southwest as much as he, made a sojourn into Navajo and Hopi country as the guest of Anita Baldwin McClaughry, the Santa Anita heiress who had given Dixon his first important commission. Mrs. McClaughry set up a lavish camp at Walpi, and for several weeks she and her guests studied Indian culture, especially Indian music. Impressed by this experience, Dixon returned on his own for a four-months stay at Tavopchamo, a Hopi settlement. His rheumatism became so severe, however, that he was forced to spend many hours on a blanket on the floor of his adobe, and a Hopi snake priest, Lomá Hinma, attempted to cure Dixon by rubbing his body with sacred herbs and chanting prayers to the sun. Dixon's pain eased, and he painted furiously, feeling among these dignified, traditional people a sense of timeless kinship, as if he had come
"My Country," a 1922 poem prefiguring the images of Dixon's southwestern landscape paintings.



closer to some inner reality at the core of outward appearances, intuiting the central insights of the Hopi religion, becoming one of them, a brother. Toward the end of that year, Dixon was privileged to witness the sacred Fire Dance of the Navajos, held in a secret place in the Luka Chukai mountains.

Many poems issued from these experiences in the Southwest—"The Ancient Well," "Little Katchina," and "Navajo Song," among others. Two of them—"My Country" and "Sun-Land"—are almost lyric in their intensity, but also simple and direct, like a great Dixon painting; and, again like a great Dixon painting, they are strong with imagery of earth, sun, and far horizon. The far horizon, in fact, dominates both Dixon's poetry and painting—a sense of distance approaching infinitude suggested by a bold horizontal skyline. As a boy, Maynard Dixon looked out onto the vast, treeless plains of the San Joaquin Valley, hazily delineated in the far distance by the blue, white, purple, and gold of the Sierra Nevada. This landscape composition, this great horizontal, must have riveted itself into his imagination, for he returned to it again and again in his art. The poems "My Country," "The Plains," "Sandhill Camp," "Evening," and "Another Day" all celebrate this typi-

cally Dixonesque earth configuration, "so far beyond the unanswering rim of the world," in assertive verse.

This landscape, this skyscape is alive for Dixon—not pantheistically alive, but vital nevertheless with unseen, mystical energy. Brought up by free-thinking parents, Maynard Dixon was by background skeptical in matters religious. He did, however, experience an interest in spiritualism and Christian Science during the period of intense personal anguish and confusion that followed the breakdown of his first marriage. He ultimately returned to a sort of reverent agnosticism, remaining attracted, however, to the spiritualism of Indian religion. This sustained interest evidences itself in the sensuous, dreamy mysticism of the painting *Allegory* and the prophetic grandeur of his great masterpiece in oil, *Earth Knower*, whose blanketed Indian priest, poised like an ancient prophet against a Pythagorean landscape of rhythmic mesas, peers off into the very heart of Being itself.

Many of Dixon's poems are animated by a sensuous, diffuse mysticism, Platonic in feeling—a state, if you will, of incipient religiosity before the grandeur of creation. The poems written between 1910 and 1918 are especially notable in this regard. In the poem "Thoughts," Dixon



Admiring the Indians' spiritual unity with the land, Dixon painted the mysterious Earth Knower (1931-35), a high point in his series of canvases with Indian subjects.

"Old Chief" (1936) laments the plight of the American Indian, the physical and spiritual victim, as Dixon saw it, of encroaching technology and mass society.

*How should you not look grim, old chief?
How long, how well have you outlasted hunger?
How many days outlived starvation? —
How long, how many ways endured
the white man's inhumanities? —
& how serenely shamed despair?
Turned toward darkness, unmoved, untempered,
how long have you faced down the fear of death?
What power flows to you from the dim abysses
of old belief reaching beyond arched miracles
of rainbow
what dwell the ancient & veiled mystery
of the Truths?*

Dec. 1936

finds his mind reaching out to some “immeasurable heaven.” “Here and Beyond” and the very ambitious “The Mystery” show Dixon sensing the reality behind appearances—“The Dream-Light, that draws to the edge of the world where it merges with infinite shadow.” “Dawn” explores an immemorial mystery of theology—whether or not the deity is personal—a question Dixon seems to resolve in favor of impersonality, for, as he says, “The blank blind eye of God stares down, aloof/And silent on this speck of murmuring dust.” Like his fellow poet George Sterling, Maynard Dixon used the sun, the moon, and the stars for themselves and as natural symbols of transcendence, and astral, lunar, and solar imagery permeates many poems written during the period of his religious experimentation. “Before Dawn,” in fact, finished on March 3, 1914, is cosmic in sweep, rivaling any similar effort by a Californian poet before the Second World War. Its materials are thoroughly western, its purposes profoundly mythic, and its last few lines (“Shall see a solemn eagle soaring, soaring”) perfectly grand. “Twilight” suggests the presence of soul or spirit at the time of “holy twilight.” In “The Message” Dixon asks: “Is it not God that so entunes our hearts/To hear the silence of our true desire?”—a motif repeated in “Hill-Song.” “The Dreamers” is an explicit prayer, begging God’s forgiveness for not heeding the vision that “runs/Beyond the peaks, across the world” and “bears us back to Thee.” Dated Mill Valley, October 24, 1918, Dixon’s “Answer” celebrates the *logos*, the Word, in creation. “Regeneration,” another Mill Valley poem (Dixon was there to recuperate from illness), discerns in the solacing, healing sunlight an “emanation of spirit”—“a manifestation of God.” By the 1930’s, however, Dixon had become more skeptical, less immediately vulnerable to the spirit-music of the outdoors. The poem “I Am God—Almost” wittily manages to have it both ways: to deflate natural mysticism through humor, but also paradoxically to reaffirm the quest for spirit in both the microcosm and the macrocosm.

Maynard Dixon loved clouds because they embodied this tantalizing presence of the ghostly, the supernal, in natural creation. Watching the moonlit clouds from his Russian Hill apartment in San Francisco, Dixon received the central illumination underlying his mature style. Pattern, line, mass, rhythm, space division—it all came to him in a flash of intuition: how he could condense, simplify, indeed, empty out, his canvases in order to attain both psychological force and a conviction of spirit. (Again—I refer to *Earth Knower* as the triumph of this vision and method.) This was in 1920, and the canvases that followed—*The Pony Boy*, *The Witch of Sikyatki*, *The Grim Wall*, *The Ancients*, *The Golden Range*—all show the galvanizing effects of Dixon’s cloud-watch atop a city hill. The painting *Cloud World* (1925)—one of Dixon’s masterpieces—fills five-sixths of its canvas with a cubist-realist architecture of clouds rising from the distant mesa like a soaring cathedral. Two minute horsemen brave the middle-horizon, as if proceeding in liturgical procession. Never has Dixon made the Southwest seem so empty—or so full. He dreamed of such clouds as early as the poem “A Pillar of Clouds” (1903); he saw them again in New York (“towering, tumultuous and vast”) when he feared he had lost the West forever. He gave these clouds, these quasi-angelic presences, the permanence of poetry and paint.

The Southwest over which Dixon’s clouds soared was, to Dixon’s way of thinking, an endangered place, and a good number of the poems in this collection take as their theme the vanishing West. Growing up in the ’70’s and ’80’s, Maynard Dixon knew the simple, unadorned West of a working central California ranch. The old Spanish-Mexican ways yet obtained in Monterey and rural Southern California when he visited there in the early ’90’s. With the romantic or Wild West, the Buffalo Bill, Wild Bill Hickok West, Dixon never felt at home. “My object,” he told *Sunset* magazine in January, 1921, “has always been to get as close to the real

thing as possible—people, animals, country. The melodramatic Wild West is not for me the big possibility. The more lasting qualities are in the quiet and more broadly human aspects of western life. I am to interpret for the most part the poetry and pathos of life of western people seen amid the grandeur, sternness, and loneliness of their country." Many of Dixon's early field sketches concern themselves with daily ranch life—bronco-busting, branding, trailside cooking, mending fences, stringing wire. His friend, writer Eugene Manlove Rhodes, himself a one time working cowboy in New Mexico (and another protégé of Charles Fletcher Lummis), reinforced Dixon's sense of the West as direct and unadorned. Both he and Rhodes shared a New York exile—the two of them finding that only a sensationalized, shoot-em-up West sold east of the Hudson. (In gratitude, Dixon named his first son after Rhodes.) All in all, even in his most active period as a landscapist, Maynard Dixon avoided grand landscape for its own sake. He pursued something more stark and elemental; something that avoided the easy comfort of the romantic Barbizon, or the dreamy impressionism of so many of his fellow Californian painters, or even, in the 1930's, the shock-value of extreme expressionism. Maynard Dixon was after a simple kind of truth—the way the West looked to those who lived there.

Self-instructed as an artist (with the exception of three months at the San Francisco Art Institute), Dixon never liked schools. "Mental independence," he believed, "is of utmost importance and necessity to the artist. To be real he must be honest, keep his own integrity. He must beware of schools, cults, dogmas, isms; must learn from all and give obedience to none." In 1891 Frederic Remington had given Dixon some very direct advice: "Draw—draw—draw—and always from nature." If Dixon had any dogma, it was the dogma of natural, unforced responsiveness. "Study the things that interest you, that awaken your imagination," he believed, "and Nature will keep you sound." His savings dissi-

pated by expenses incurred in his first wife's illness, Dixon never got a chance to study in Europe. He made a virtue of necessity, feeling that the United States—in his case, San Francisco and the American Southwest—contained within itself the themes, materials, and social conditions conducive to high creativity in painting, provided only that American artists work hard at their calling, stimulated, but not intimidated, by European achievement. As an aspiring illustrator, Dixon was strongly influenced by the lightning-direct sketches of the German magazines *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*, which encouraged his own parallel development of a no-nonsense style that got right to the point.

The covers Dixon did for *Sunset* magazine between 1904 and 1906 show his sketching style on the way toward something more ambitious. Color—the superb Dixon palette of southwestern color—makes its appearance in these *Sunset* covers: the carmine red of an Apache horseman's shirt and headdress, played off against the cinnamon-brown of the mesa he crosses at sunset, the whole composition half-lost in purple shadows; the royal blue of a Hopi tunic; the yellow of a flowering honeysuckle; the sunburnt gold of a young prospector's beard, jutting out against a horizon suggested by one bold black stroke. Color came naturally to Dixon, and the vividness of Jules Guerin's dramatic use of color in the buildings of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 in San Francisco only reinforced Dixon's innate tastes for an assertive Californian, southwestern palette. *Trading Post*, done the year of the exposition, is flooded in sunlight suggestions of yellow and gold. *The Pony Boy*, the first great work of his mature style, has a robin's-egg-blue sky that only a poet could see. It meets a grassy-green horizon, contrasting marvelously with the bronze skin of the Indian herdsman. *The Golden Range* (1923) dazzles the eye with its array of sun-drenched color.

From 1916 to 1921 Dixon worked for Foster and Kleiser, a San Francisco-based advertising firm, design-



ing billboards and posters for outdoor use. A delay on Dixon's road to full-time painting, the experience nevertheless left him with a sense of drama that caught and riveted one's attention through an implied storyline. The best of Dixon's paintings are in motion. Like good advertising, in fact, they tell a story. Dixon's billboard experience also sharpened his ability to handle the abstract elements of painting—mass, rhythm, space relationships—all essentials to good billboard art. Dixon's *Witch of Sikyatki* (1924) shows how easily good billboard art can lead to even better painting. Who

knows what mischief the barebreasted, sexually attractive young witch is brewing as she confers with three Indian men? The witch's eyes slyly take in their responses, a mixture of attraction suppressed by caution and skepticism. Some marvelous story-in-the-telling leaps from this painting, as if already half-told by a Hopi elder, sitting by the campfire underneath the Arizona stars.

So able to tell a story, Dixon painted magnificent murals, especially during the decade 1920–1930. He liked murals because he thought that they brought art to the public in the most direct way possible—into banks,

hotels, schools, post offices, ticket offices, railroad stations, theaters, and libraries, in all of which places Dixon painted murals. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915, he claimed, first alerted him to the mass-appeal good art might enjoy through the mural medium. Dixon kept his murals uncrowded and pointed toward an apparent storyline. The wall itself, he felt, in balanced groups and spacings, should form an integral part of the composition. In murals also his love of California history found full expression—the driving of a herd of palomino ponies by a Spanish-Californian vaquero, the entrance of Captain John Charles Frémont into California, the pageant of California that comprises the murals he did for the Room of the Dons of San Francisco's Mark Hopkins Hotel.

Seeking to portray the West the way it was experienced by westerners, Dixon could not, however, avoid interpretation—as a westerner himself, a painter, or a poet. Most obviously, Dixon, along with an entire generation of westerners—Frederick Jackson Turner, the historian; Owen Wister, the novelist; Frederic Remington, the illustrator; Theodore Roosevelt, the president; and so many, many others—lamented the passing of the frontier. By the late 1910's, Dixon felt, the Southwest showed signs of its impending conquest by “Henry Ford, the movies, dude ranches, and show business.” He exaggerated, of course, but a sense of imminent loss no doubt stimulated his art—his effort, that is, to put the Southwest on record before it vanished completely. The poem “Old Cow Town” (c. 1910) laments—rather unconvincingly I'm afraid—the good old days. More convincing is “Death of a Man” (c. 1917–1918). Two poems dealing with heavier-than-air flight, “Fair Aeroplane” (c. 1913) and “The Air-Scout” (1917), deal directly and forcefully with the theme underlying Maynard Dixon's concern for the Southwest—the

impending conquest and reification of the West by technology.

Against these forces—mass society, technology, the unhealthy self-absorption of the modernist temperament—stood the Indian, another central image in Dixon's art. Again like an entire generation—D. H. Lawrence, Oliver La Farge, Mary Austin, among others—Maynard Dixon found in the Southwest Indian, especially the Hopi and Navajo, the antitype of, and the antidote for, the soul-sickness of hyper-selfconscious modernism. The Indian, Dixon believed, lived and moved and had his being in an older, better way of knowledge and behavior. He felt sympathy for them; as a boy he had witnessed a surviving remnant band of Mono Indians as they wandered pathetically from site to site in the Kaweah Range east of Fresno in search of acorns and small game. But he also respected them, particularly the Hopi and the Navajo, who continued to preserve their dignity and their ancient ways. Dixon collected Indian artifacts—pottery, blankets, weapons. When they were burglarized from his Montgomery Street studio in San Francisco, the plundering of his twenty-year collection broke his heart. “No white man can equal the authentic work of the primitive artist,” Dixon believed. “No less than in his drawings, his pottery, weaving, and sand paintings, the Indian displays a marvelous sense of color and composition. And it is his sincere self-expression, not a copy.”

Dixon's canvas celebrations of Southwest Indians account for his current high reputation among artists who depicted the American West. The superb female Indian nude of *Allegory*; the still, early morning processional of *The Wise Men*; the stoic grandeur of *Hopi Man*; the wistful meditateness of *Juan Mirabal*; the Homeric nobility of *John Rainbow*; the serene wisdom, beyond loss or pain, of *Blind Hopi*; the hierophantic mystery of *Earth Knower*—the Indian paintings of Maynard Dixon bear witness to his love for these people. “I have learned a good deal from the Indians,” Dixon



In No Place to Go (1934), Dixon's California bindle stiff stares blankly at the blue Pacific, a casualty of the American industrial and social order.

observed; “much from the sincerity and simple directness of their art, and more from those elements in the philosophy of their life.”

Not surprisingly, Dixon wrote a good deal of poetry about Indians, especially in the late 1910's and into the 1920's. “The Conqueror” depicts in stark simplicity the death of a chief. “Navajo Song” attempts to render the rhythm and content of a Navajo chant. “Little God” is a dramatic monologue concerned with the mysterious impenetrability of Indian art. “Geronimo,” Dixon's best poem about Indians, presents us with a very realistic, very balanced assessment of the great chief's career upon the occasion of his death as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Dixon painted some of his best Indian paintings (including *Earth Knower*) while living in Taos in 1931—living, like the rest of depression America, from week to week, hand to mouth. On the way to Taos, he had twisted his arm and broken his jaw in an automobile accident outside of Santa Cruz, Dixon, a novice driver, crashing his tin lizzie on his maiden voyage as a protagonist in the age of Henry Ford. Fifty-five and fifty-six years of age, he was at the low ebb of his financial resources and the peak of his talent as a painter. Back in San Francisco, flat broke, he and Dorothea Lange were forced to board their two sons in Carmel while they moved into their Montgomery Street studios to cut

down on living costs. Ever sensitive to the larger patterns of American life, Dixon internalized the psychological torment of the depression, almost to the point of upsetting his own mental health. He brooded over the vague, ominous feeling of impending doom that seemed to grip America. His concern became an obsession, demanding artistic expression, which he achieved in *Shapes of Fear*, a grouping of four completely blanketed, faceless Indians, emerging ominously from the darkness, the very embodiments of what Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his first inaugural address described as “fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.” Ironically, it was this very canvas—purchased by the National Academy of Design for \$1500—that got the Dixons through the worst of the depression.

But even \$1500 could not make this period less than a terrible time for Maynard Dixon. His wife Dorothea Lange, one of the great photographers of the 1930's, left him for another man, Dr. Paul Taylor of the University of California at Berkeley. Dixon had met Dorothea in 1919, when she was studying under San Francisco's great photographer Arnold Genthe and frequenting the Print Room Group at 540 Sutter Street, a photographer's circle and workshop. His marriage to Dorothea in 1920 coincided (not incidentally!) with the beginning of his major phase as a painter. The poem, “The Ancient Well,”

so exuberant in reproductive imagery, celebrated the birth of their first son. When Dorothea left him in 1935, Maynard Dixon, then in his mid-fifties, was thoroughly shaken.

Dixon's depression-era paintings, so electric with social protest, have always bothered his admirers, because they represent such a major departure from the southwestern themes of his maturity. Dixon himself admitted that no one bought them, although today, some forty or so years later, they seem major achievements of depression art, comparable to John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* or the migrant labor photographs of Dixon's former wife, Dorothea Lange—high points in California's artistic response to those dark and terrible days. Dixon never formally embraced the Left (his tendency to radicalism, he said, was checked by the weakness of the radical's arguments), but he poured into his somber, angry canvases his frustration and bafflement over America's economic and social travail. In *Law and Order* striking workers assault a policeman (Dixon lived through, and was profoundly affected by, the 1934 general waterfront strike). An unemployed older man, his hat and tattered overcoat showing vestiges of a former prosperity, hikes the railroad tracks in *Destination Unknown*. Angry workers mill around a speaker in *Free Speech*, policemen lurking threateningly in the obscured background. *Keep Moving*: the unemployed file aimlessly down a city street. *Forgotten Man*: a beaten jobseeker gives up, squats down on a curb in despair, while the rest of the city walks by unheedingly. *No Place to Go*: a bindle stiff, his blanket roll slung over his shoulder, stares blankly at the blue Pacific—the end of his journey, and no job in sight. *Destination Nowhere*: two men hit the road, knowing that nothing lies ahead. The Man versus Rock paintings that Dixon made in 1934 as official painter for the Hoover Dam project show a little more optimism—after all, the men are working—but even in this group, in the tired faces of the men being trucked to their

barracks after a day of backbreaking labor, Dixon is sympathetic to the larger psychological devastations of the industrial order.

A number of Dixon's poems reflect his bitterness about the depression. "Contract" is the most overtly angry and radical; "Industrial," the most bitter. "Wakanda Look Down," written three days before Roosevelt declared a bank holiday in late February, 1933, has the most interesting strategy: a shaman, Old Medicine Arrow, expresses his bafflement over the inequalities and malfunctions of the white man's economy, venting both his own amusement and imagining that of Wakanda, the Great Spirit. "1934" is a truly powerful depression poem—one of Dixon's best, in fact. "Sermon on the Hump—John Whitecollar Speaking," while not excellent poetry, is yet a compelling dramatic monologue—the words, if you will, of the crowd-haranguer in the painting *Free Speech*.

The final thematic grouping in Dixon's poems revolves around the artist's dual response to modernism in art and to San Francisco, where, he felt, a derivative, over-precious modernism flourished. Dixon always felt a certain ambivalence to the city where he spent most of his life. At the turn of the century he believed that San Francisco was too much under the influence of Ambrose Bierce in matters literary and James McNeill Whistler in matters relating to painting. Dixon made his career in the city, however, even after World War I when so many of San Francisco's artists had departed for other places. Dixon worked out of his studio on the third floor of 728 Montgomery Street (now the Belli Building), breaking the day with lunch at Ricardo's at Jackson and Montgomery, or take-out Chinese food. Between 1920 and 1924, he turned out about one hundred and forty canvases—an absolute explosion of creativity.

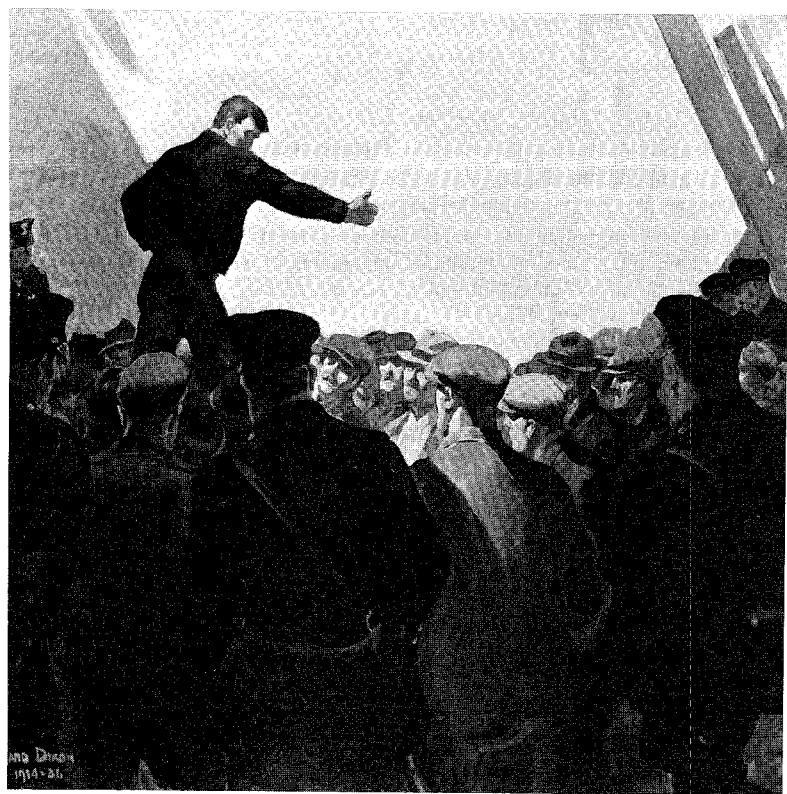
Angered by the physical and psychological devastations of the Depression, Dixon's social protest paintings such as Free Speech (1934-36), where policemen lurk ominously around a soapbox orator, have poetic counterparts.

Maynard Dixon had very simple, very direct ideas about art. He believed that art was a healthy, natural event—not the hothouse activity of a cult. The best art, Dixon believed, did not come from aesthetic dogma, but from life vigorously lived and perceived by the artist. Dixon despised the worship of the obscure or the eccentric, the belief, in his words, that “if it’s goofy, it must be art.” He also believed that art, especially American art, should seek to please an American audience, or at least the sensitive segments of that audience, and not defy it with obscurantism or self-contemplating artiness. Art, for Maynard Dixon, began in the interaction of nature, experience, and the artist. It sought directness and clarity. As a working painter he despised a lot of talky-talk about art, especially when such pseudo-conceptual prattle dictated practice. “There is more nonsense written and spoken about Art (which no one

yet has been able to define),” he believed, “than any other of our interests—except perhaps finance. . . . The proof of all visual art lies in what it can add to the experience of its beholders, not in any critique, analysis, or explanation.”

Preferring the representational and the simple, Dixon was, on the other hand, no reactionary. Part of the reason he became estranged from the Bohemian Club was the club’s banning of experimental painting under the presidency of Haig Patigian. If experimentation proceeded organically out of experience, and not as a matter of compulsive fashion, then Dixon approved of it. After all, his own style after 1920 was, in effect, a successful experiment. Too much of the art life of San Francisco, however, suggested to Dixon the ambiance of coteried and derivative cult—a certain brainless, chattering avant-gardism, more concerned with doctrine and artistic politics than autonomous response and achievement. Matters reached a head in 1930 when Dixon was passed over for the commission to do the murals in the newly rebuilt San Francisco Stock Exchange in favor of the radical hero, Diego Rivera of Mexico City. The city’s artists and patrons like Albert Bender fawned over the portly, radical Mexican artist. Rivera, Dixon pointed out, encouraged San Francisco artists to paint their own time and place in their own way, and, in Dixon’s words, “The celebrity hounds and painters who toadied to Rivera enthusiastically responded by imitating Rivera.” Dixon personally liked the genial Mexican muralist, however, and derived great satisfaction at Rivera’s revenge upon his San Francisco sycophants: he painted them in an art school mural lined up appreciatively behind his generous behind!

The poetic record of Maynard Dixon’s constant, ambivalent response to San Francisco is one of the charms of this volume. “Respite” (1903) describes the city “growling like a dragon, dimly breathing/fever-poisoned vapors in the valley.” “San Francisco” (1913), on the other hand, is a love-song to the city reborn from



(Below) Dixon's last celebration of the western landscape, the Grand Canyon mural (1946) for the Los Angeles ticket office of the Santa Fe Railroad.

At last
I shall give myself to the desert again,
that I, in its golden dust,
may be blown from a barren peak
broadcast over the sun-lands.
If you should desire some news of me,
go ask the little horned toad
whose home is the dust,
or seek it among the fragrant sage,
or question the mountain juniper, —
and they by their silence
will truly inform you.

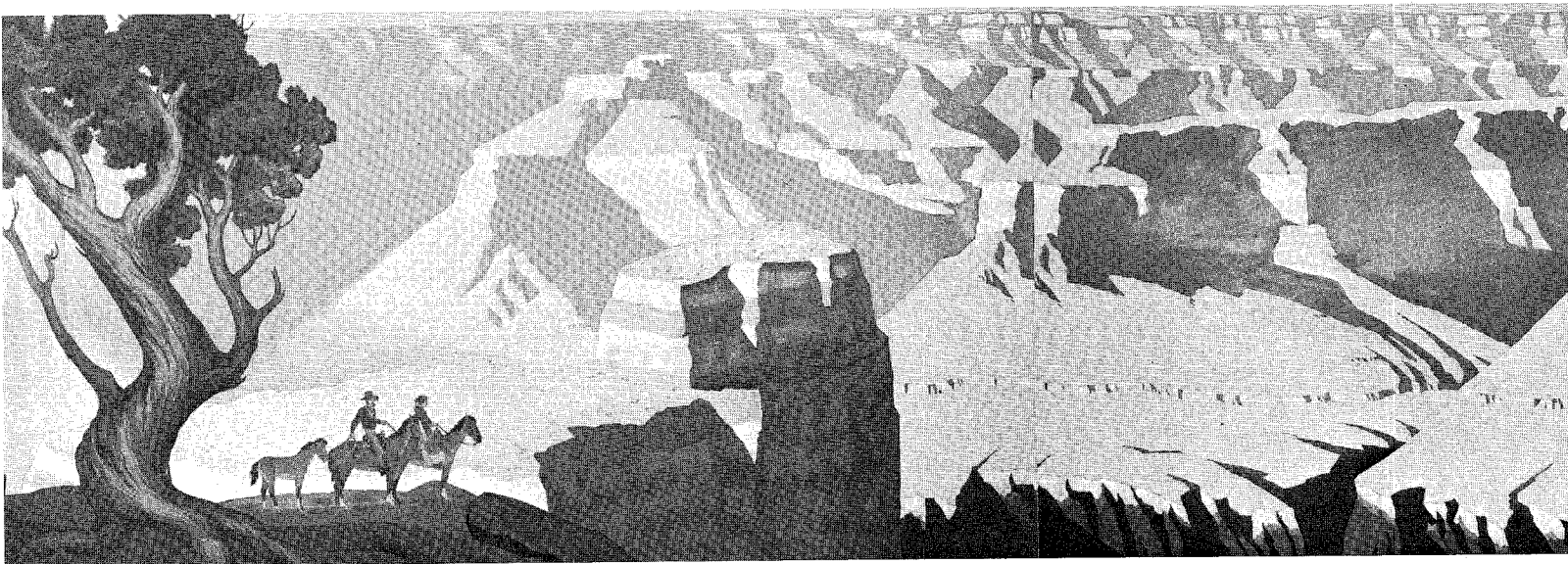
MD

May 16 - 1935

the ashes of 1906. "The Faith" (1916) suggests some of the personal pitfalls of San Francisco's burn-the-candle-at-both-ends bohemia, while "Little Reviewers" (1918) dramatizes Dixon's disgust with the city's art-for-art's-sake crowd. "Springtime Meditation" (1935), bitterly scatological, expresses Dixon's frustration, at the height of the depression, with being edged out of certain commissions, and friendships as well. In "Farewell to Sycophants" (1936), Dixon rather indecorously, but unambiguously, invites the artists of San Francisco to "kiss this end" when, back turned to the city, he heads once more to the rocks and the sage.

This verse's "odorous farewell," as he called it, anticipated by some three years Dixon's final departure from San Francisco in 1939. In 1937 he married Edith Hamlin, a San Francisco artist, who had helped him through his emotional depression after the break-up of his family. Talented, sensitive, attractive, loving but independent, Edith Hamlin brought harmony and happiness into the last nine years of Maynard Dixon's life. After 1939 the couple divided their time between a winter home—adobe, in the Mexican style—outside of Tucson, and a summer place—a great log cabin—at Mount Carmel near Zion National Park in southern Utah. After so much struggle and uncertainty, Maynard Dixon had come home.

Accordingly, a mood of resignation and peace settles into his poetry. "So unhurriedly I will pass/peacefully," he says in "The Years" (c. 1935), "yes, content, under the desert stars." There is some lament at life's losses—Dorothea's departure, for one, in the very fine poem "Rose"—but there is also eager appetite for the last act, the southwestern act, of the drama, wherein Maynard Dixon will face, as he puts it in "I Am" (1936), "the thing that I am;/where I face the void of all that I fail to be,/and knowing fear, shall not be afraid of that fear." "Pick the bones clean," he urges in "Sanctuary" (1935),



"let them lie free to the rain and the white cleansing sun./Leave only my thoughts./These thoughts that once made me a man/surely will find their way/back to the home corral in the quiet evening."

Maynard Dixon died on November 13, 1946, a few weeks after completing a mural at the Santa Fe Railroad ticket office in Los Angeles. By then, emphysema made just staying alive a heroic effort. Dixon made the sketches for the mural, while his wife Edith Hamlin, and two other friends, did the actual painting under Dixon's supervision. "As for myself," Dixon said toward the end of this life, "my choice of profession could not have been otherwise. At an early age I had a deep and intuitive conviction that art was my calling, and I have never departed from it. It is not an occupation, it is a way of life. With all its disadvantages (and in this land of ready-made they are many) I would not exchange it for any I know. To recreate with paint on canvas the wonder and beauty that I extract from this amazing western world of ours is for me enough."

Maynard Dixon left behind him a daughter, two sons, his widow Edith Hamlin, many friends, more than seven hundred paintings—and poems. One of these, "At Last," the final poem in this collection, serves as his epitaph.

The manuscript poems, the sketch *Mountain Man*, and the 1925 portrait are courtesy Edith Hamlin. The *Oakland Creek* illustration is from *The Overland Monthly*, February, 1895; the *Sunset* magazine cover and cartoon are from the September, 1904, issue of *Sunset*. *Corral Dust* is courtesy the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (gift of the Skae Fund); *Cloud World* is courtesy Clay Lockett, Tucson; *Earth Knower* is courtesy the Oakland Museum (gift of Abilio Reis); *No Place to Go* and *Free Speech* are in the Herald R. Clark Memorial Collection, Brigham Young University; *Home of the Desert Rat* is courtesy the Phoenix Art Museum (bequest of Leon H. Woolsey). The 1895 Dixon portrait is from the CHS Library.

Printed sources on Maynard Dixon include: Grant Wallace, *Maynard Dixon: Painter and Poet of the Far West* (San Francisco Art Research Project, WPA, 1937); *Maynard Dixon, Painter of the West*, Introduction by Arthur Miller (1945); and Wesley M. Burnside, *Maynard Dixon, Artist of the West* (1974). See also: Wilbur Hall, "The Art of Maynard Dixon," *Sunset Magazine*, 46 (1921), 44-45; and Ansel Adams, "Free Man in a Free Country: The West of Maynard Dixon," *The American West*, 6 (November, 1969), 41-47. A very limited collection of Dixon's own *Poems and Seven Drawings* was printed by Grabhorn Press in 1923. The Lummis-Dixon letters are in the Library of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles. Edith Hamlin, Maynard Dixon's widow, was interviewed in San Francisco on August 3, 1977. Also consulted: "Version A," bound source material from interviews with Maynard Dixon, assembled in San Francisco in 1936, now in the possession of Edith Hamlin.



The Challenge to Philanthropy

Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932

According to local legend, Santa Barbara escaped the Great Depression, or was affected by it only slightly. Many people have encouraged this myth, including the late Thomas M. Storke, newspaper publisher and United States senator, who apparently forgot his own participation in the events prior to Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932. As well as clouding the record, however, this historical shadow has obscured the considerable efforts of the citizens of Santa Barbara to provide work relief between 1930 and 1932 for people victimized by the unemployment crisis caused by the economic depression.¹

Unemployment, or the fear of it, became a major fact of life for many people in depression-era America. Moving with a domino effect the specter of unemployment—first, loss of job, then savings, then possessions, and finally pride—haunted the land.

Mr. Nye is a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of California at Santa Barbara and Manuscript Curator of the University Library.

An earlier version of this essay was awarded the William H. Ellison Prize for the best graduate essay in the university's History Department in 1975. The author wishes to thank professors Otis L. Graham, Jr., and Donald R. Hickey for their guidance in the preparation of this essay.

Initially, almost everyone responded to the crisis by turning to the institutions which had traditionally provided assistance in time of high unemployment: the voluntary charitable agencies. In October, 1930, President Herbert Hoover officially sanctioned this reflex when he established the President's Emergency Committee for Employment. Under the direction of Colonel Arthur Woods, its task was to encourage and assist in the creation of local and statewide citizen committees to deal with the crisis. These committees, in turn, were to coordinate the efforts of self-help agencies and voluntary groups to find jobs and provide relief for the unemployed. As Hoover put it, "The basis of successful relief in national distress is to mobilize and organize the infinite number of agencies of self-help in the community."²

But even in the first year of the depression, as Hoover was attempting to mobilize the benevolent instincts of his fellow Americans, private charity was clearly failing to fulfill the role assigned to it. An investigation undertaken in mid-1931 by the Association of Community Chests and Councils revealed that of the 209 cities which were able to sponsor work relief programs during the winter of 1930-31, ninety-six of the programs were publicly financed, forty-seven relied on a combination of

After an earthquake in 1925, the city's civic elite supervised the reconstruction on State Street's buildings along an Hispanic theme (1928 photograph taken at the 1000 Block).



private and public resources, and sixty-six were supported by private funding.³ This trend toward public responsibility for relief was, in fact, part of a larger movement which had resulted as early as 1929 in public funding for as much as 71 percent of all relief activities in fifteen large cities.⁴ The crash of 1929 and the depression only accelerated the movement, exhausting private—and eventually public—resources and quickly disabusing many people of their faith in the capabilities of private philanthropy.

With a population of 33,613 people, Santa Barbara was one of thirteen California cities with over 25,000 residents which undertook emergency work relief programs in the winter of 1930-1931. Six of the cities utilized public funds, four combined public and private financing, and three depended solely on private resources.⁵ Only Santa Barbara, South Pasadena, and Sacramento relied exclusively on private charity in the winter of 1930-1931, and Santa Barbara followed the same course in the winter of 1931-1932 as well. This adherence to voluntarism in the face of rapidly expanding public efforts across the nation reflected the unique social and economic conditions that existed in pre-depression Santa Barbara.

Between the turn of the century and the thirties a class

of wealthy citizens, lured from the East by the city's temperate Pacific climate, began settling in palatial country estates in the scenic Santa Barbara foothills. Investing large sums of money in real estate, homes, and furnishings, these prosperous newcomers naturally became a dominant force in the life and politics of the community. The occupational distribution of most of the city's 15,000 workers reflected the economic structure of a wealthy residential resort city: domestic and personal services, wholesale and retail trade, and building trades formed the largest categories of employment.

A winter playground for the wealthy and young, a residential haven for the wealthy and retired, the city made the largest amount of its revenue from tourism. By forming civic groups which encouraged the protection and enhancement of the city's natural and man-made environment, the upper classes were to a considerable extent responsible for the central role of tourism in the city's economy. The Community Arts Association, for example, through its four branches, promoted music, art, and drama and also encouraged the construction of safe and architecturally harmonious buildings. Another elite association, the Santa Barbarans, Incorporated, supported civic enterprises, regattas, and tournaments

and promoted the “many unusual advantages of Santa Barbara as a place of residence to people of means and culture.”⁶

Such civic involvement fired a movement in the 1920’s in which, according to one historian, “the beautification of the city became an all-consuming interest.”⁷ Following purchase and restoration of the historic De la Guerra House in 1924 by Bernhard Hoffman, for example, dozens of wealthy individuals and business establishments purchased, restored, or erected buildings of Spanish architecture. After the destructive earthquake of 1925, the civic elite was given another opportunity to improve the complexion of downtown Santa Barbara. The Architectural Board of Review, an upper-class creation, directed (some would say “dictated”) the reconstruction of State Street, imposing Hispanic architectural themes over the crumbled “Main Street” architecture.⁸

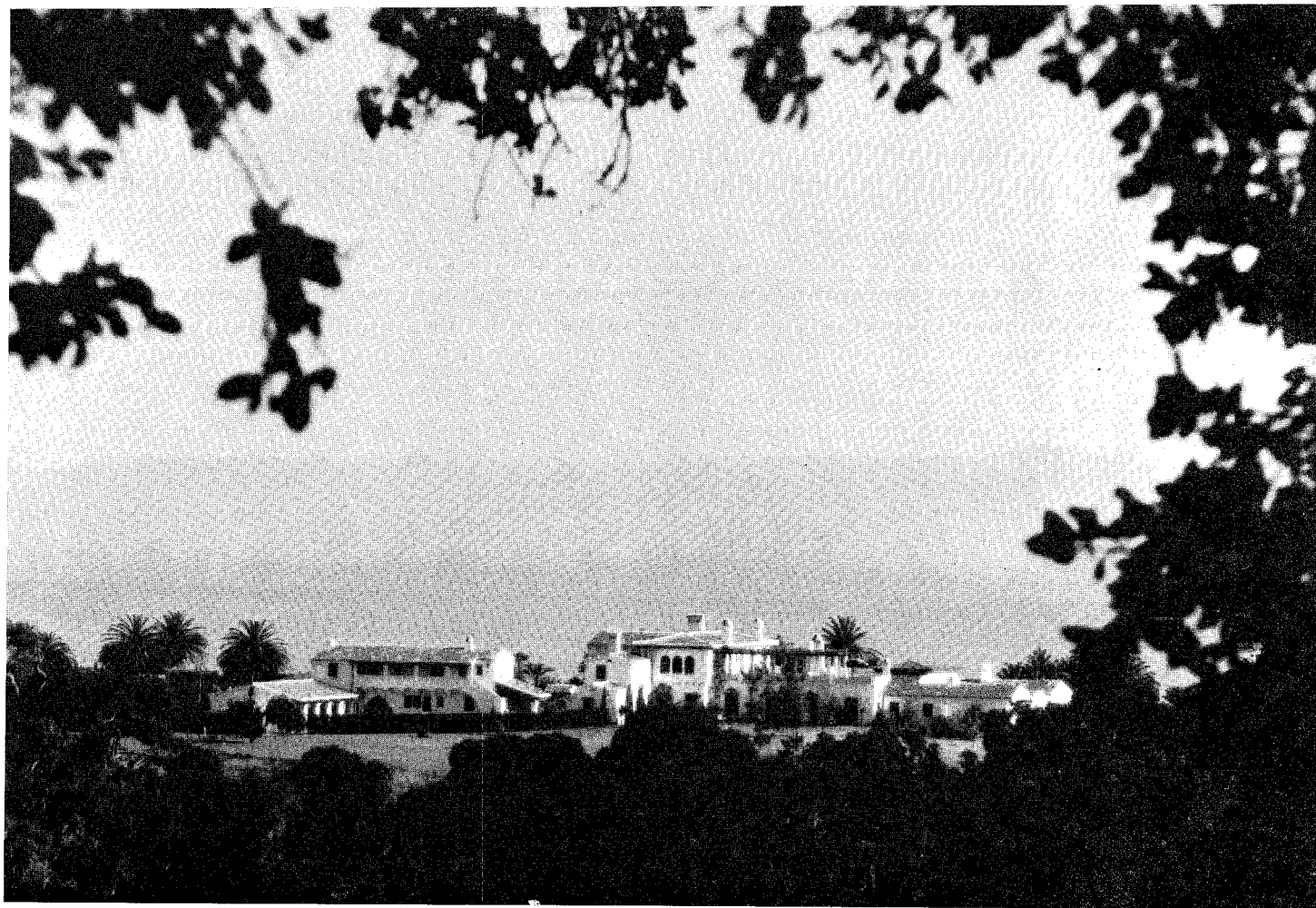
Throughout the 1920’s civic philanthropy appeared to be the major preoccupation of the upper class in Santa Barbara. Many individuals served on various commissions, while others gave liberally from their fortunes to such projects as the restoration of the Old Mission. Others made available or donated to the city much of the scenic waterfront area. In 1925, for example, Mr. and Mrs. David Gray donated nearly \$100,000 for the building of a bathing pavilion on East Cabrillo Boulevard. In 1928, in response to plans by property owners to build business structures on the beach, a group of citizens including Max C. Fleischmann, Dwight Murphy, and Harold S. Chase formed a non-profit syndicate, purchased the property, and held it until the city was financially able to acquire it two years later. A similar group came forward a short time later, purchased the old Stearns Wharf franchise, and built the structure in present use. Finally, in 1927 the construction of the breakwater and yacht harbor was begun, but its construction could not have started without the advocacy of Max C. Fleischmann, who by the time of its completion had contributed over a half-million dollars to the project.⁹

The philanthropic-civic elite, as the local press frequently reported, was also the mainstay of Santa Barbara’s charitable institutions. Following the successful Community Chest and Red Cross campaigns in 1931, the *Morning Press* stated that for many years the wealthy had carried “seventy-five percent of our charities and welfare obligations.”¹⁰ According to one observer, those who had a hand in Santa Barbara’s development were people of “vision,” people who “love the place in which they live, and therefore . . . find pleasure in using their money for the welfare of their town and its people.”¹¹

The influence of Santa Barbara’s upper class, then, extended into every important segment of the community’s life. The elite served as employer, almsgiver, and benefactor, frequently taking charge and demonstrating strength when the local government either would not dare or could not financially afford to do so. Hence, it was quite natural that Santa Barbara would display not only a strong sense of self-reliance as a city, but that it would aim for private, not public, funding for any temporary and unavoidable relief projects.

The approach of the winter of 1930-1931 found a number of Santa Barbarans optimistic about the future and untroubled by reports of economic distress elsewhere in the state and nation. “No hard times have been experienced here in Santa Barbara,” proclaimed Editor R. G. Fernald of the *Morning Press* in September, “and with the business barometer rising, the chances are that we have escaped such conditions as caused a cry from other sections of the country.”¹² A month later a banker declared that Santa Barbara would remain prosperous and free of unemployment because the city’s largest employers, the estate owners, were sustaining the economy by continuing with their normal building and maintenance activities.¹³

Such optimism proved unfounded, however, as the



Santa Barbara's Channel Islands form the backdrop to the Peter Bryce estate, a typical upper-class residence employing many domestic workers.

Max C. Fleischmann, Santa Barbara's most generous civic philanthropist, rode in the annual Fiesta parade in 1927.



harsh realities of economic depression slowly but inexorably surfaced. The dollar value of building construction, an important source of local employment, dropped 50 percent between October and November in 1930.¹⁴ The decline in building activity was in part the result of retrenchment by estate owners who, caught up in the economic turmoil, either became cautious spenders or returned East to look after financial interests.¹⁵ In their wake remained scores of gardeners, chauffeurs, and skilled and unskilled workmen who became unwilling additions to the ranks of the jobless.

One of the first to acknowledge the growing seriousness of the unemployment problem was Aleta Brownlee, executive secretary of the County Welfare Department. In the first week of November she acknowledged that unemployment had become her department's greatest concern. "Frankly," she remarked, "I don't quite see how we can handle the problem, as it appears to be growing."¹⁶ A week later, Thomas M. Storke, the editor of the *Daily News*, declared that "too long have we ignored the fact that there is a real need for measures to assist those who seek employment, and he called for "systematic registration of both jobs and jobless during the coming winter."¹⁷

Large numbers of responsible citizens, however, either

remained unconvinced that there was a "real need" in Santa Barbara or did not wish it to be publicized. On November 21 at a heavily attended and emotion-charged meeting in the offices of the Chamber of Commerce, Santa Barbarans wrangled over the best way for the city to manage its unemployment problem. Among those present were the mayor, the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, directors of public and private welfare agencies, representatives of business, social, religious, and labor organizations. In the course of the meeting two factions emerged. One claimed that too much attention had been given to the unemployment problem, while the other argued that overly optimistic publicity had given Santa Barbarans the impression that no problem existed. The first faction, arguing that the existing welfare agencies were capable of handling job placement, defeated a motion to establish an employment bureau. A motion was carried, however, to create an employment committee which would establish contact between employers and the jobless and stimulate the creation of new employment.¹⁸

Seven days later the group met again, this time under the direction of the newly-created Citizens' Employment Committee, which was chaired by E. M. Sherrill,

This working-class home on Ladera Street rented for \$10 per month but lacked running water, indoor plumbing, and sewers.

vice president of the Chamber of Commerce. Again the creation of an employment bureau was brought up, and this time it was agreed to establish a privately funded Community Employment Bureau which would function only for one month. Through the operations of the bureau, the committee hoped to place as many unemployed as possible, but more importantly it sought to "determine the facts concerning unemployment in Santa Barbara and to formulate ways to reduce extreme conditions of unemployment by emergency measures if such [conditions] should be found to exist."¹⁹

Accordingly, on December 1, Committee Chairman Sherrill addressed form letters to all "Santa Barbara Employers" under the banner, "Create a Job." Urging "cooperation in a plan to keep our people on a self-supporting basis by providing work instead of charity," Sherrill called upon businessmen to "retain every employee" and to "do your maintenance and repair work now and provide work." The Community Employment Bureau, he continued, was "faced with an overwhelming plea for help, which for the month of November was three times that of November, 1929." One-hundred fifty of "Our Own People" had already applied, he explained, before assuring businessmen that the committee "checks every application, and segregates the TRAN-SIENT!" Finally, Sherrill urged that temporary jobs be created in order to assuage the "present temporary depression."²⁰

Not surprisingly the Citizens' Committee's findings after the first four weeks of the bureau's operation confirmed many community leaders' worst suspicions. Of the more than 500 men and women who registered with the bureau that month, for example, the great majority were permanent residents, heretofore employed, and not previously known to social welfare agencies.²¹ Of the men, 143 were listed as "skilled laborers," and 130 fell into the domestic or personal service category: 60 chauffeurs, 46 gardeners, 13 kitchen helpers, and 11 cooks. As for the women applicants, 50 were listed under the cate-

Large numbers of responsible citizens either remained unconvinced that there was a "real need" in Santa Barbara or did not wish it to be publicized.

gory of "house work" and 24 under "clerks—office work."²² Placed in jobs by the bureau were 248 men and 74 women, but the impact on unemployment remained slight, because the great majority of the 322 jobs were only from four hours to two or three days in length.²³

Faced with the exhaustion of private social agency funds, civic leaders urgently convened more meetings. They next decided to launch a comprehensive work relief project to be supported almost entirely by private funding. The prospect of public funding still remained only a possible supplemental source for private relief.²⁴

A new committee composed of four wealthy and civic-minded Santa Barbara citizens was formed in December, 1930. It was chaired by Harold S. Chase, an influential real-estate developer, and included Max C. Fleischmann, heir to the Fleischmann Yeast fortune, Dwight Murphy, and E. W. Alexander. Taking quick action, this Emergency Unemployment Fund Committee launched a subscription campaign in the last week of December aimed at raising \$50,000 from Santa Barbara's upper-class residents. The committee mailed a form letter to each potential subscriber which stated that the purpose of the campaign was to "create employment through . . . city street and park commissions, Supervisors, etc., to the end that direct civic improvement will also result." Furthermore, the letter continued, except for emergency cases such as "complete credit exhaustion, starvation and sickness, *all relief* will be given by providing work." Finally, it was urged that the existence of the committee, the size of the fund, and the names of the

In wealthy Santa Barbara, the Salvation Army's shelter at 323 Motor Way housed thousands of transient men who were fed and given a place to sleep for one night before being sent out of the city.

subscribers be kept confidential. Otherwise, the letter speculated, "the committee would not serve, and many of the probable underwriters would not cooperate." Moreover, it was suggested, publicity would attract to Santa Barbara those who were not eligible to be helped by the work of the committee.²⁵

The response to the Chase committee's appeal from Santa Barbara's wealthy proved disappointing. The committee raised only about \$30,000, far less than its goal, in part because only a small number of individuals were solicited. Perhaps the committee believed that a small solicitation might assure the important confidentiality, but more likely the committee overestimated the charitableness of the upper classes. Of the scant sixty-five individuals who were contacted, only thirty-seven subscribed to the unemployment fund.²⁶

Despite this meager response, surviving correspondence reveals no animosity among the wealthy towards the Chase committee or its work. Indeed, many who declined to subscribe explained that they were instead providing employment themselves. "Employment is better than a contribution," wrote Mrs. Oakleigh Thorne, who added that "those who *can* give employment should do so." George O. Knapp, like several other respondents, reported that he was "keeping some men employed . . . mostly on unnecessary projects such as trails, roads, et cetera, which ordinarily I would abandon at this season of the year." John A. Jameson and John J. Mitchell wrote of similar employment activities, but while Jameson subscribed to the Chase fund, Mitchell chose to contribute money in the East where conditions were "so much worse than they are here."²⁷

Despite the low level of subscriptions, then, there is much evidence to suggest active concern among the philanthropic-civic elite for Santa Barbara and its unemployed. Perhaps George O. Knapp, who expressed a personal obligation to help prevent the spread of unemployment, may have been representative of that group. Fearing that many "people of considerable means" were

discharging their gardeners and other employees, Knapp expressed hope that the "rumor" was ill-founded because, as he wrote, "we are liable to be called upon to the limit during the next few months." While Knapp fulfilled his personal commitment by creating or continuing jobs, other wealthy Santa Barbarans responded to the solicitation with money. Twenty-two individuals subscribed \$500 or more, fourteen gave \$1,000 or more, and Max C. Fleischmann, the largest single donor, contributed \$5,000.²⁸

In pursuing its goal of creating employment, the city's Emergency Unemployment Fund Committee functioned mainly through the Community Employment Bureau. Work projects conceived and administered by the city park board and the city engineer's office were funded by the committee and supplied with workers by the bureau. The Community Chest and its two main branches—the Neighborhood House and the Salvation Army—worked closely with the committee, providing general relief and family welfare services. The Community Chest, through its operation of the Social Service Exchange, also processed nearly all applicants for employment relief, recommending for work only those in greatest need who were clearly residents of Santa Barbara County.²⁹

In the end the number of jobs created by the Unemployment Fund Committee during its eight and one-half months existence—jobs for which the wages of the workers were paid directly from the money collected by subscription—numbered only 602. Most people fortunate enough to have shared in the fund's meager benefits were employed on city work projects, whose main purpose was civic beautification. Thus, under the direction of the park department, trees and shrubs were planted throughout the city; Mission Creek in Oak Park was



Unemployed men reinforced the sea wall at Cabrillo Pavilion in the winter of 1931-32, a project chosen for its heavy requirements of hand labor, under the supervision of the Chase committee.

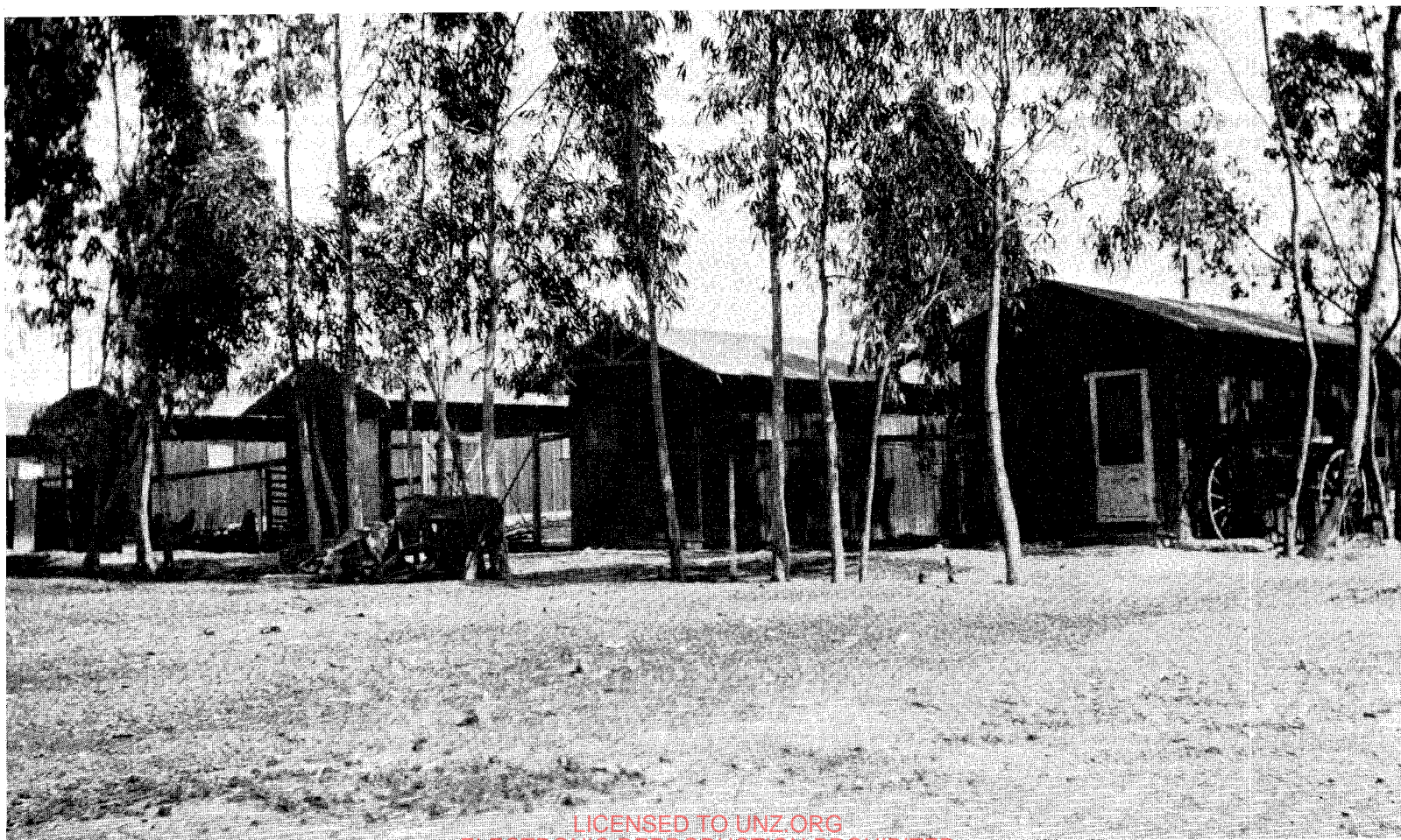
At the turn of the century, pleasure spots such as the San Marcos Hotel lured easterners to Santa Barbara—and provided waiter and kitchen help jobs to the local working-class residents.

"cleared of all boulders"; twenty-five men spent four days cleaning up beaches; and the ivy in Alameda Park was replaced with lawn. The work created and supervised by the city street department included the grading and widening of several city streets and similar work on the Coast Highway.³⁰

Santa Barbara's unemployed obtained a far greater number of jobs through the general operation of the Community Employment Bureau. Although the bureau's operating expenses were paid by the unemployment fund, the employees' wages were paid, as in normal times, by the businesses or individuals which hired them. As of September 15, 1931, some 2,380 jobs had been provided in this manner, including 400 additional jobs in "Forestry and Fire" found by the bureau. Unfortunately, only 20 per cent of the bureau's jobs were over four days

in length. Not only was job brevity a problem with community-generated employment, but due to the committee's concern with spreading funds as widely as possible, even its meager 602 jobs averaged only nine days in length.³¹

As the committee's chairman Harold S. Chase had anticipated in December, 1930, an emergency situation arose in February of 1931 which required an allocation from the fund for purposes of relief other than work relief. Accordingly, about \$3,500 was given to the Neighborhood House to be used as direct relief for needy resident families crushed by unemployment. The money was used for such basics as groceries, rent payments, and family counseling, and this was the only direct-relief allotment made by the committee, a fact of which it was proud. In its final report, in fact, the committee boasted



that "exclusive of the cost of operating the bureau and the emergency relief donation, . . . approximately ninety percent of the fund was disbursed exclusively for labor."³²

Santa Barbara's first experience with a work-relief program was not unlike that of many other cities in the nation. The city failed to appreciate the magnitude of task which it had undertaken, but it could not be accused of responding hastily, or be denied a qualified success.³³ The committee created some employment and disbursed almost all of its relief funds on work projects, as proposed. But its efforts to alleviate the massive unemployment problem in Santa Barbara proved futile. In 1931, however, this situation was not yet interpreted as a failure of the philanthropic or charitable approach, but as a failure of a committee's campaign drive which should have been bolder, with a wider appeal, and more rationally directed.

By the fall of 1931, then, the unemployment crisis in Santa Barbara was worsening, despite the efforts of the Chase committee and the Community Chest. On September 21, Hood Spencer, manager of the Community Employment Bureau, conceded that his organization had not been successful in providing jobs for the approximately 1,235 jobless men and women who were seeking employment through the bureau. Less than 2 per cent of the jobs already located could be termed "permanent," i.e., paying by the week or by the month. In addition, the city contained 700 unemployed members of trades unions who had not even registered with the bureau because the unions were still attempting to care for their own.³⁴ This inability of philanthropic charity to retard measurably the growth of unemployment during the preceding months and the prospects of an even higher jobless rate for the coming winter caused some Santa Barbara citizens to begin questioning the wisdom of continued reliance on private relief.

In June of 1931 the welfare agencies represented in the County Social Service Conference had recommended the creation of a committee to urge the city or county to create jobs. In August, E. W. Alexander of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee stated that there was "no likelihood" that an unemployment fund would be raised again. "Santa Barbara must meet its unemployment problem this winter in a different fashion," he insisted. Because "wealthy men have suffered large reductions in their incomes," Alexander concluded, "we cannot ask people of this town to again give the large fund they donated last year."³⁵ In October Editor R. G. Fernald of the *Morning Press* urged that the role of local government in the provision of work relief should be larger than it had been in the past. The task of caring for the city's unemployed would be a heavy one, he continued, and the "more public aid we can furnish, the less drain upon the private purse and the more generally will be distributed the cost."³⁶

Disregarding these accumulating public statements and proposals, Mayor H. T. Nielson, the Unemployment Relief Committee, and the appropriate social agency heads met on September 22, 1931, and decided to raise from private donations a second year's unemployment relief fund. The pleas for public spending, as yet merely the opinions of individuals, were too weak to affect the course of events, and neither the general public, politicians, nor the business community considered conditions among the unemployed so critical that private philanthropy could not meet their needs.

But if organized support and concrete proposals for greater public funding in Santa Barbara were lacking, such was not the case for the private charity concept. In October two members of the unemployment committee, Dwight Murphy and Chase, were appointed, respectively, vice-chairman of the Southern California division and chairman of the Santa Barbara County division of President Hoover's President's Organization on Unemployment Relief (POUR). Santa Barbara's Chase com-

The Carlson Flats on the 700 Block of East Haley Street became typical homes for Santa Barbara's unemployed during the depression.

Captain R. H. Simpson of the Salvation Army reported that the transients were "in an ugly and despondent mood, damning Capital in particular and Society in general."

mittee was thus linked to a national organization which, through a network of regional and local committees, promoted the concepts and programs of self-help and philanthropic giving.³⁷

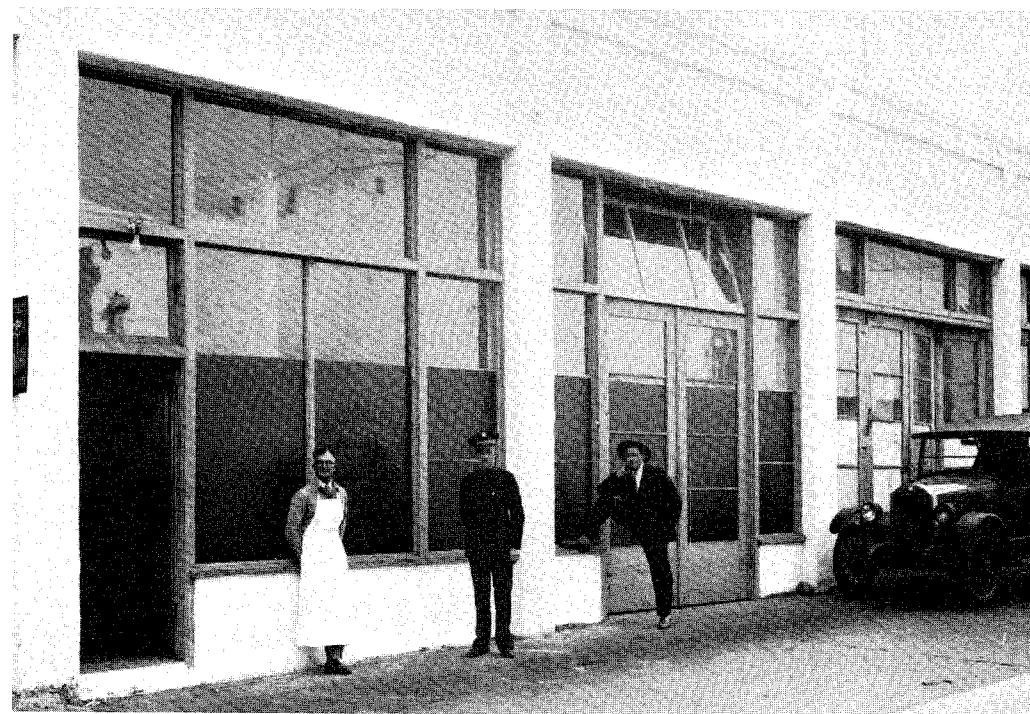
The conditions under which the new campaign was launched in October, 1931, were more desperate than they had been in the first campaign. Not only had unemployment and its attendant woes increased, but larger numbers of transients began passing through the city. While 720 homeless men had applied for assistance to the Salvation Army in January of 1930, for example, the number who applied in October, 1931, rose to 2,750.³⁸ Many people, including the members of the Chase committee, believed that these transients posed a serious new threat to both life and property in Santa Barbara. Hence, in its appeal for unemployment funds, the committee also sought to alert the community to the urgency of the transient problem. Speaking on behalf of the committee, Captain R. H. Simpson of the Salvation Army reported that the transients were coming to his organization "in an ugly and dispondent mood, damning Capital in particular and Society in general; they have listened to and have been influenced by radicals." Mayor Nielson likewise expressed his concern about the transients, warning that "the menace from this type cannot be exaggerated" and that "to ignore them is to invite, without question, crime and disorders." Therefore, he promised, the committee's work relief projects for unemployed residents would be expanded, under the supervision of

the Salvation Army, with direct relief to transients. In this way, concluded the mayor, the community's protection would be assured, because transients would be "handled by men of experience, fed and given a place to sleep for the night, kept under supervision, and gotten out of the city as early as possible the next day."³⁹

In the second year's campaign the committee's appeal for funds was thus greatly expanded. This time 232 wealthy individuals, rather than 65, were contacted, and, in an effort to make unemployment relief a community affair, contributions were also solicited from steadily employed groups of employees such as teachers and policemen. In the end nearly \$115,000 was subscribed, of which \$88,500 was paid by 103 individuals pledging \$100 or more and the remainder by small donations from individuals and organizations. Most previous contributors donated substantially larger amounts to the second fund campaign, with Fleischmann again heading the list with a contribution of \$21,000.⁴⁰

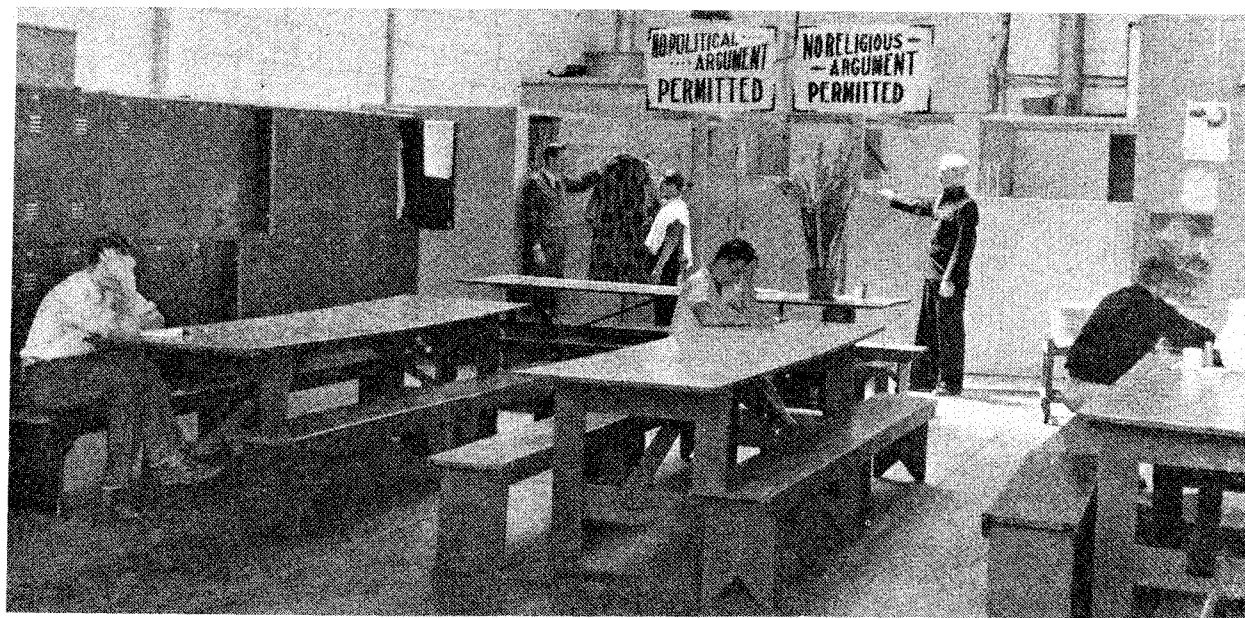
One wealthy individual who declined to subscribe, however, took issue with both the committee's methods and its plans for disbursing funds. George A. Batchelder complained that "cash contributions during the present stringency are impossible." He argued instead for a plan to finance the improvement of the Old Mission frontage by which subscription payments could be spread over a period of years. The employment created by this project, he lobbied, would benefit unemployed residents, not transients, and would also beautify this tourist "mecca." Batchelder believed that the committee's plans to provide overnight shelter to transients would make Santa Barbara an attractive spot for undesirables and cause "hobo camps" to spring up around the city. Relief funds should be spent to employ "habitual workers," not to give "dole" to tramps. "Any aid extended them," he concluded on a warning note, "should be disbursed through the Sheriff's office."⁴¹

Batchelder was not the only one to dissent from the Chase committee's method of handling transients. The



At the Salvation Army men's center at 323 Motor Way, transients reportedly arrived in the winter of 1931-32 in an "ugly and despondent mood."

The controversial shelter fed and housed the men for one night, discouraged all political discussions, and sent the men out of the city the next day.



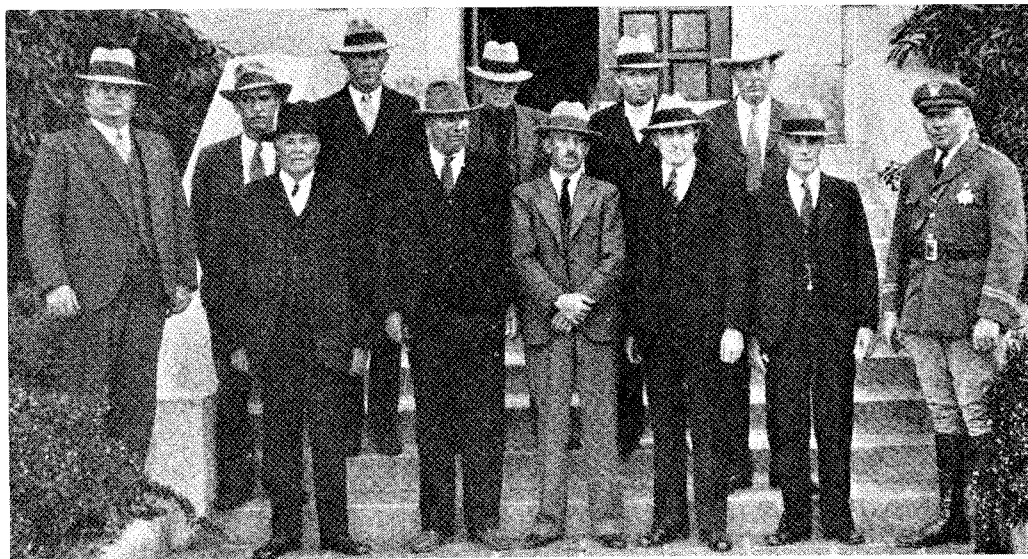
committee's newly hired executive secretary, R. C. Branion, urged the Salvation Army to establish a work test for transients because it appeared to some that the committee was "providing free meals and lodging for the transients while we force Santa Barbara men to work for the relief they get." A work test, however, was not established until the fall of 1932, and by the end of April, the committee had provided 28,594 meals and 9,625 overnight beds to homeless travelers.⁴²

In addition to providing direct relief, the committee moved to protect the city from transients by enlarging the police force. An Emergency Police Force of twenty men was created by the Chase committee and placed in the service of Police Chief G. C. Sloan, who, with the blessings of civic leaders, undertook an aggressive security program.⁴³ To prepare the city for trouble, Sloan secured appropriations from the police and fire commission for machine-gun ammunition. Further, he authorized roadblocks for south-bound traffic just north of the city limits and the search of automobiles for "suspicious persons." Hoping to drive from the city people whose presence might harm its residential resort image, police systemat-

ically swept through hobo camps and pool halls. In January, 1932, the police braced for the invasion of an "Unemployed Army" which was to pass through Santa Barbara on its way to Sacramento. When it arrived on January 5, only twenty-one strong, and refused to accept aid from the Salvation Army, it was immediately escorted by the police to the city limits. There, a newspaper reported, its ragged "soldiers" took up "a collection to buy gasoline for the three decrepit automobiles and one truck, . . . sang the Communistic 'Internationale,' and proceeded on their way." While there were other false alarms, such as the discovery of a plot by twelve "Red" transients "to take the town," the committee in its final report commended the extra protection provided by the Emergency Police Force which had kept Santa Barbara "notably free of crimes of violence" during the winter.⁴⁴

If the handling of the transient problem brought the most publicity to the committee, the problems of providing work relief to unemployed residents absorbed most of its energy and resources. Confronted on October 31, 1931, with 1,320 individuals (including 416 families with children) actively seeking employment, Executive

Police Chief Sloan posed (at left) with men of the Emergency Police Force who were charged with protecting Santa Barbara from possible "crime and disorders" caused by the influx of homeless men.



Secretary Branion suggested the creation of an Unemployment Case Committee which would determine which applicants should receive work relief on the basis of greatest need. Applicants representing families with children were given priority, and the income of each family member was taken into account and one individual given work relief. In another departure from the policies of the previous employment campaign, every individual approved for work relief was guaranteed employment for at least ninety days, or until the unemployment fund was exhausted. This policy, the committee's final report stated, was calculated to eliminate the "daily nervous strain on men who were otherwise unable from day to day to see any means of feeding their families." Of a total of 2,012 applicants considered by the Unemployment Case Committee, work relief was approved for 666 people, whose families included 2,904 persons. Ominously, the Community Employment Bureau reported itself even less successful in providing jobs than in the first year's campaign. Only 1,556 temporary and permanent jobs were found for its 4,423 applicants, leaving 3,469 active job seekers out of work by April 30, 1932.⁴⁵

However limited, Santa Barbara's public works projects provided badly needed employment to the city's most destitute citizens, and they also produced significant improvements in the appearance and usefulness of city-owned properties. In cooperation with the city park department, the city engineering and street department, and the Montecito Roadside Committee, the fund offered unemployed men jobs on projects chosen on the basis of "greatest public benefit" and most hand labor required. Because the fund's larger budget permitted more numerous and more extensive projects than in the previous year, one of the most important improvements supervised by the park department was the conversion of virtually all of East Beach (except for a small portion then known as Palm Park) from an unsightly debris-strewn area to a sand-covered bathing beach. Another major improvement, directed by the engineering and

street department, provided for the construction of a forty-foot-wide roadway on West Beach between Leadbetter Road and the shore end of the breakwater. A large stretch of beach was made accessible, and the new road, according to the Chase committee, eliminated the "necessity of parking a distance of several blocks away from the breakwater."⁴⁶

Tacitly acknowledging that the depression hit some classes and groups of people harder than others, individuals in charge of the second unemployment relief campaign sought not only to provide work for heads of resident families and security from transients, but also to meet the special needs of three other segments of the population: unmarried men, Mexican-Americans and Mexican non-citizens, and women. In December, 1931, Secretary Branion appeared before the County Board of Supervisors to request that the board cooperate with the county forester and the federal forestry service in providing work camps for resident single men. The men, he lobbied, were being deprived of relief employment because the unemployment committee could only afford to offer jobs to men with dependents. In the end, only two camps employing about sixty men were funded by the county on a tenuous month-to-month basis, and a disappointed Branion argued in vain that "these men are kept off the streets" by the camps and that it was less expensive for the county to operate the camps than it was to care for the men through the welfare department.⁴⁷

Unemployment among the more than 3,000 Mexican-American and Mexican non-citizens living in Santa Barbara presented special problems for public authorities. While some people obtained employment in the local lemon-harvesting industry, others suffered greatly because of the declining demand for unskilled laborers.⁴⁸ The committee, however, would not offer relief work to recently arrived non-citizens, and the county welfare

Unemployed women, at first "inefficient with the needle," repaired clothing for relief wages at the Neighborhood House.

The most expedient solution to unemployment among aliens became deportation, a policy which the welfare department had been actively pursuing since 1926.

department viewed non-citizens only as a further drain on its budget. Hence, the most expedient solution to alien unemployment became deportation, a policy which the welfare department had been actively pursuing since 1926.⁴⁹ "It will be cheaper to pay their way and send them home," announced Aleta Brownlee, executive secretary of the department, "than to keep them here and support them through the winter." Joining the statewide "Back to Mexico" movement, in October, 1931, her department sponsored the return of at least seventy-eight persons to Mexico. The Chase committee also took part in deportations, facilitating the return of thirty families. "There was no coercion," the committee's report stated, "but on the contrary the movement was purely voluntary on the part of the families, after due consideration of all known facts."⁵⁰

Within the Santa Barbara community at large there was considerable disagreement over repatriation. In March, 1932, for example, Branion reported that "we are not getting the cooperation that is desired" from two charitable organizations which were apparently discouraging Mexican families from returning to Mexico. In April, on the other hand, the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution held a large party in honor of thirty Mexican non-citizens who were soon to be repatriated. The speaker of the evening advised them to "adapt themselves to the customs and conditions of their old home and try not to be 'gringos' in their native land. (Entertainment included ethnic music and dance and the singing of "America" and "Mi Mexico.")⁵¹

Although Branion favored repatriation, he also believed that non-citizen Mexican families who had lived in Santa Barbara for several years should, like other residents, be eligible for work relief. He arranged for the committee to provide relief employment for fifty-six non-citizen males, most of whom were assigned to cut wood on a special project supervised by the park department.⁵²

Early in the committee's second campaign Branion acknowledged that unemployed women as a class also needed special assistance in finding jobs. Women could not be assigned to city relief work projects because these projects required hard physical labor. Furthermore, reported Branion in January, 1932, "Women whose only experience is housework are becoming an increasing problem to us, as they are not particularly qualified for any kind of work, and are more difficult to fit into group work than are men." Another problem, he continued, was that "women generally do not care to make application at the [employment] office where there are so many men waiting around." Branion suggested that a separate employment office at a different location be established for women, a suggestion upon which, apparently, no action was ever taken. However, the committee did finally provide some work for women. Women numbering 125, many of whom, according to the committee's report, at first "were not really efficient with the needle," were given relief employment in the Salvation Army's sewing room. The committee also paid the wages of twenty-six women who did similar work at the Neighborhood House. In addition to a small number who obtained clerical work, forty-eight women were sporadically employed by the City Teachers Club, where their wages were partially paid by the committee. Finally, with the committee's approval, destitute women were able to obtain free meals from the Good Samaritan Relief Kitchen operated by the Foursquare Gospel Church.⁵³

Several months later on April 30, 1932, the work relief activities of the Santa Barbara district branch of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief



came to a halt, its fund depleted. Distribution to indigents of bread and flour made available by the American Red Cross continued, but the citizenry could no longer boast that there were “no bread lines in Santa Barbara.”⁵⁴

On May 2 Santa Barbara’s Salvation Army opened an Emergency Employment Bureau, but the prospect of finding employment for the 3,469 idle men and women left in the wake of the Community Employment Bureau’s closing and POUR’s suspension of activities was not bright.⁵⁵ In its final report, the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee concluded that unemployment relief had “finally become largely a matter of public responsibility.”⁵⁶ Moreover, for the first time, many Santa Barbara citizens began seriously to advocate large-scale, publicly financed work relief programs. Accordingly, the County Board of Supervisors was deluged with proposals and demands. Dwight Murphy of the old unemployment committee advocated issuing bonds for public works projects; Branion asked that the supervisors use existing funds for road repair work projects; and numerous citizens representing labor, welfare, civic, and business organizations attended supervisorial meetings to demand a substantial unemployment relief program.⁵⁷

In late June the supervisors inaugurated a two-part work relief plan based on a program suggested by Aleta Brownlee, executive secretary of the County Welfare

Department. First, a commissary was established through which groceries were distributed to unemployed men in exchange for work performed on city improvement projects. Second, the work-camp program was enlarged to provide board and work at fifty cents per day for 150 single men. The program was placed under the direction of the welfare department, and the county unemployment relief fund was to be expanded to at least \$300,000 for the summer.⁵⁸ Thus, in the short eighteen-month period from January, 1931, to June, 1932, the principal funding source for work relief in Santa Barbara was transferred from the private to the public sector.

The unemployment crisis of 1930-1932 shattered the best hopes of Santa Barbara’s philanthropic-civic elite for a private solution to the financing of work relief. If, as a resort city, the unemployment crisis emerged more slowly than elsewhere, it nonetheless seriously challenged Santa Barbara’s philanthropic tradition. Faith in the potential of private charity was reluctantly abandoned only after two jobless winters during which those who had done so much to institutionalize voluntarism could no longer meet the community’s needs. But if Santa Barbarans were slow to understand the limitations of philanthropic giving, before the decade’s end they would nevertheless become eager beneficiaries of federal monies for welfare services.⁵⁹

Some unemployed single men were assigned to Figueroa Mountain work camp for forestry and fire control activities. They relaxed with all-male recreations such as boxing.



The photograph of the hotel employees is from the Santa Barbara Historical Society. The other photographs are from the Community Development and Conservation Collection, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Notes

1. In *California Editor* (Los Angeles, 1958), p. 337, Storke wrote that in spite of the conditions prevailing across the country in mid-1932, "the situation in Santa Barbara could be considered fairly normal."
2. Albert U. Romasco, *The Poverty of Abundance* (New York, 1965), pp. 126-29, 144-45.
3. Joanna C. Colcord, William C. Koplovitz and Russell H. Kurtz, *Emergency Work Relief as Carried Out in Twenty-six American Communities, 1930-1931* (New York, 1932), pp. 253-55.
4. Josephine C. Brown, *Public Relief, 1929-1939* (New York, 1940), p. 55.
5. The California cities that relied on public financing were: Alameda, Monterey, Oakland, Pasadena, San Diego, San Francisco. Those which used a combination of public and private financing were: Berkeley, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Santa Ana. Colcord, *Emergency Work Relief*, 253.
6. Walker A. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara Past and Present* (Santa Barbara, 1975), p. 90; M. Ann Windolph, "A Case Study of an Outgrowth of Settlement Work: The Department of Recreation of the City of Santa Barbara, California, 1929-1941" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1968), pp. 25-26; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Unemployment*, I, 169; *Population*, III, part I, 275; Southern California Writers' Project, *Santa Barbara: A Guide to the Channel City and Its Environs* (New York, 1941), p. 58; Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 93-100; *Santa Barbarans, Incorporated: Its Purpose, Organization, and Accomplishments* (June, 1932).
7. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 92.
8. Pearl Chase, Bernhard Hoffmann—*Community Builder, Santa Barbara, 1921-1927*. Plans and Planting Committee. Reprinted from *Noticias* (Summer, 1959), Santa Barbara Historical Society. The Architectural Board of Review was abolished by the city council on February 4, 1926, after State Street merchants successfully deposed its supporters on the council in the municipal election of December 1, 1925. It was not the board's insistence on Hispanic architecture which inspired the merchants' revolt, however, as most merchants obligingly complied with the board's guidelines. Instead, it was the fact that the board represented a philanthropic-civic elite which had actively supported tourist trade, but consistently opposed the further commercial development of State Street. See Raymond D. Tracy, Jr., "The Reconstruction of State Street" (unpublished research paper, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1970), pp. 20-35.
9. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 92-93; *Santa Barbara Morning Press*, March 13, 1925; *Ibid.*, December 4, 1930; Owen H. O'Neill, *History of Santa Barbara County* (Santa Barbara, 1939), p. 316; E. S. Spaulding, "The Breakwater," *Noticias*, 8 (Spring, 1962): 10; Pearl Chase, "East Cabrillo Boulevard—How it Happened," in Bernhard Hoffmann—*Community Builder*.
10. *Morning Press*, October 28, 1931; see also: *Morning Press*, October 1, 1930; *Santa Barbara Daily News*, February 16 and February 21, 1931; *Morning Press*, November 16, 1931; Windolph, "Case Study."
11. Fred B. Jackson, in John Steven McGroarty, *California of the South*, 4 vols. (Los Angeles, 1933), I: 381.
12. *Morning Press*, September 27, 1930.
13. *Morning Press*, October 26, 1930.
14. *Morning Press*, December 1, 1931.
15. Windolph, "Case Study," 22-23; Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 91, 104; Hobart O. Skofield, interview with author, Santa Barbara, March 4, 1975.
16. *Morning Press*, November 6, 1930.
17. *Daily News*, November 15, 1930.
18. *Daily News*, November 21, 1930; *Morning Press*, November 21, 1930.
19. *Morning Press*, November 28, 1930.

20. E. M. Sherrill to Santa Barbara Employers (form letter), December 1, 1930, (emphasis in original). All reports and manuscripts, except where otherwise noted, are found in the Emergency Unemployment Relief Papers, Community Development and Conservation Collection, University of California, Santa Barbara.
21. "Report of the Jobs Filled Through the Community Employment Bureau, November 28, 1930 to Feb. 25, 1931," February 26, 1931; "Report of the Community Employment Bureau, Nov. 28, 1930 to Dec. 25, 1930."
22. "Report of the Community Employment Bureau, Nov. 28, 1930 to Dec. 25, 1930."
23. "Report of the Jobs Filled Through the Community Employment Bureau, Nov. 28, 1930 to Feb. 25, 1931," February 26, 1931.
24. *Daily News*, December 6, 1930; *Morning Press*, December 6 and 10, 1930.
25. H. S. Chase to M. Schott (form letter), December 22, 1930 (emphasis in original). For more information on Harold S. Chase, see R. L. Nye, "Harold S. Chase, 1890-1970: The Life and Legacy of Santa Barbara's Quiet Friend." *Soundings*, 8 (December, 1976): 43-64.
26. "Unemployment Fund Committee: Receipts," September 19, 1931; "Subscriptions Received, Unemployment Fund," p. 2; "Unemployment Fund Committee: Receipts," September 19-1931.
27. Mrs. O. Thorne to H. S. Chase, January 9, 1931 (emphasis in original); G. O. Knapp to H. S. Chase, January 2, 1931; J. A. Jameson to H. S. Chase, January 12, 1931; E. M. Awl to H. S. Chase, January 15, 1931.
28. G. O. Knapp to H. S. Chase, January 2, 1931; "Unemployment Fund Committee," September 19, 1931.
29. Emergency Unemployment Fund Committee (EUFC), *Report*, October, 1931, pp. 1-2.
30. EUFC, *Report*, 2; City Park Board, "Report of work done under the supervision of the City Park Superintendent, January 19, 1931-January 26, 1931"; EUFC, *Report*, 5.
31. EUFC, *Report*, 1-3; *Daily News*, January 31, 1931.
32. N. W. Emery to G. W. Clyde, March 27, 1931; EUFC, *Report*, 5.
33. Colcord, p. 15.
34. Community Employment Bureau, "Report on the Unemployment Data of This Office," September 21, 1931; H. S. Chase to Mrs. C. H. Graves (form letter), November 18, 1931.
35. *Morning Press*, June 10 and August 25, 1931.
36. *Morning Press*, October 10, 1931.
37. E. W. Alexander was apparently persuaded to continue serving on the Chase committee; H. M. Stanisfer, Minutes, September 22, 1931; *Morning Press*, November 17, 1931; Romasco, *Poverty of Abundance*, 163.
38. Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee (EURC), *Report on the Second Emergency Unemployment Relief Fund*, June 15, 1932, pp. 24-25.
39. H. S. Chase to Mrs. C. H. Graves (form letter), November 18, 1931.
40. "Emergency Unemployment Relief Appeal," n.d.; H. S. Chase to Graves (form letter), November 18, 1931; H. S. Chase to H. O. Cummings, December 4, 1931; "Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee," April 28, 1932; Emergency Unemployment Relief Fund, "Comparative List of Donations, 1930 and 1931," n.d.
41. G. A. Batchelder to H. S. Chase, October 25, 1931.
42. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, February 9, 1932; G. W. Clyde to H. S. Chase, September 9, 1932; EURC, *Report*, 25-26.
43. The *Morning Press*, October 22, 1931, said that the committee provided only twelve emergency policemen, but the committee's *Report*, p. 19, probably a more reliable source, put the number at twenty.
44. *Morning Press*, November 18, 1931; Dwight Murphy to H. S. Chase January 22, 1932; *Morning Press*, January 5 and 11, 1932; EURC, *Report*, 18-19.
45. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, November 19, 1931; EURC, *Report*, 4-8.
46. EURC, *Report*, 9-12.
47. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, December 17, 1931; *Morning Press*, April 18, 1932.
48. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, January 22, 1932; Albert M. Camarillo, "The Making of a Chicano Community: A History of the Chicanos in Santa Barbara, California, 1850-1930" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 222-24.
49. Camarillo, "Making of a Chicano Community," 229-32. Camarillo estimates that between 200 and 250 Mexican non-citizen families were deported from Santa Barbara between 1926 and 1934.
50. *Morning Press*, September 14 and 22, 1931; EURC, *Report*, 27.
51. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, March 31, 1932; *Morning Press*, April 14, 1932.
52. EURC, *Report*, 26; R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, January 29, 1932.
53. EURC, *Report*, 19-20, 28; R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, December 11, 1931, and January 22, 1932; *Morning Press*, January 12, 1932.
54. *Morning Press*, April 13, 1932; May 5, 1932.
55. *Morning Press*, May 1, 1932; EURC, *Report*, 8.
56. EURC, *Report*, 30.
57. *Morning Press*, April 27 and 28, 1932; May 2 and 10, 1932.
58. *Morning Press*, June 26, 1932.
59. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 106.

Farm Gentry vs. the Grangers

Conflict in Rural America



It is an axiom of American history that the organization known as the Grange expressed the collective voice of the farm community in the decades following the Civil War. The harsh criticisms raised by these Patrons of Husbandry against the economic practices of the American corporate economy—in tandem with their persistent efforts to enrich farm life with community and a political voice—won widespread support, created pride among husbandmen, and riveted the attention of later generations of historians on the farm-city tensions of the Gilded Age. To a large extent this focus on the Grange is justified. The Patrons' concerns underscored the deep frustrations felt by millions of farmers amidst the onrush of industrialization, while the Granger's projects represented the first coordinated attack on farm ills endemic to the times.¹

In post-Civil War California, as across the country, the Grange immediately commanded considerable attention. Angry wheat growers, plagued by indebtedness, high interest rates, tax inequities, and the vagaries of the grain trade, swelled Grange membership roles during the 1870's. With its grandiose economic schemes, fraternal opportunities, and mysterious rituals, the Grange won numerous converts in rural California while it gained widespread recognition in urban circles throughout the state. The Grangers' influence peaked in the late seventies when, in cooperation with the short-lived Workingmen's Party of California, they played a key role in the state drive for constitutional and currency reform. Although ultimately stymied in most fiscal endeavors, Grangers temporarily rallied California farmers in a common cause and, for a time, seemed to be the voice of all farm-dwelling Californians.²

Yet, as scholars of rural history are well aware, the Grangers experienced competition for leadership from

their own kind. The farm community in the 1870's and 1880's included a fair number of wealthy agriculturists, many of whom championed the precepts of scientific farming and who, more often than not, disagreed with the aggressive reform schemes proposed by the Grangers. While not as conspicuous as their more vocal brethren, members of the farming elite wielded considerable influence on agrarian politics and within the agrarian community. In post-Civil War California, for example, many affluent farmers joined the State Agricultural Society, the oldest and most prestigious farm organization in the state. The Society and its members varied significantly from California Grangers on matters of crucial concern to all West Coast husbandmen. This essay will probe these divergences, as demonstrated in separate responses to contemporary political, economic, and social issues. Its purpose is not to chronicle the history of either organization, but to clarify important differences among agriculturists during an era traditionally identified with Grange activism.³

The origins of the California State Agricultural Society date back to 1854 when leading citizens founded an organization to promote farming and to upgrade the state of agriculture. Mining still dominated the mind and economy of Gold Rush California, and what little farming existed was largely haphazard. Early Society members sponsored fairs, held annual meetings to exchange shop talk on crops and cattle, and appointed visiting committees to award prizes for the state's best orchards and farms. Although confronted with formidable obstacles, by the 1860's Society members had accumulated and published valuable data on crops best suited to California soils, developed workable farming techniques for the unique California conditions, and achieved solid advances in the care of livestock. Perhaps their most important accomplishment, however, was the establishment of a tradition of agricultural excellence amidst the overriding and typical frontier indifference to progressive farming procedures.⁴

Dr. Prescott is Professor of History at California State University, Northridge. His special interest is farm leadership in the Gilded Age.

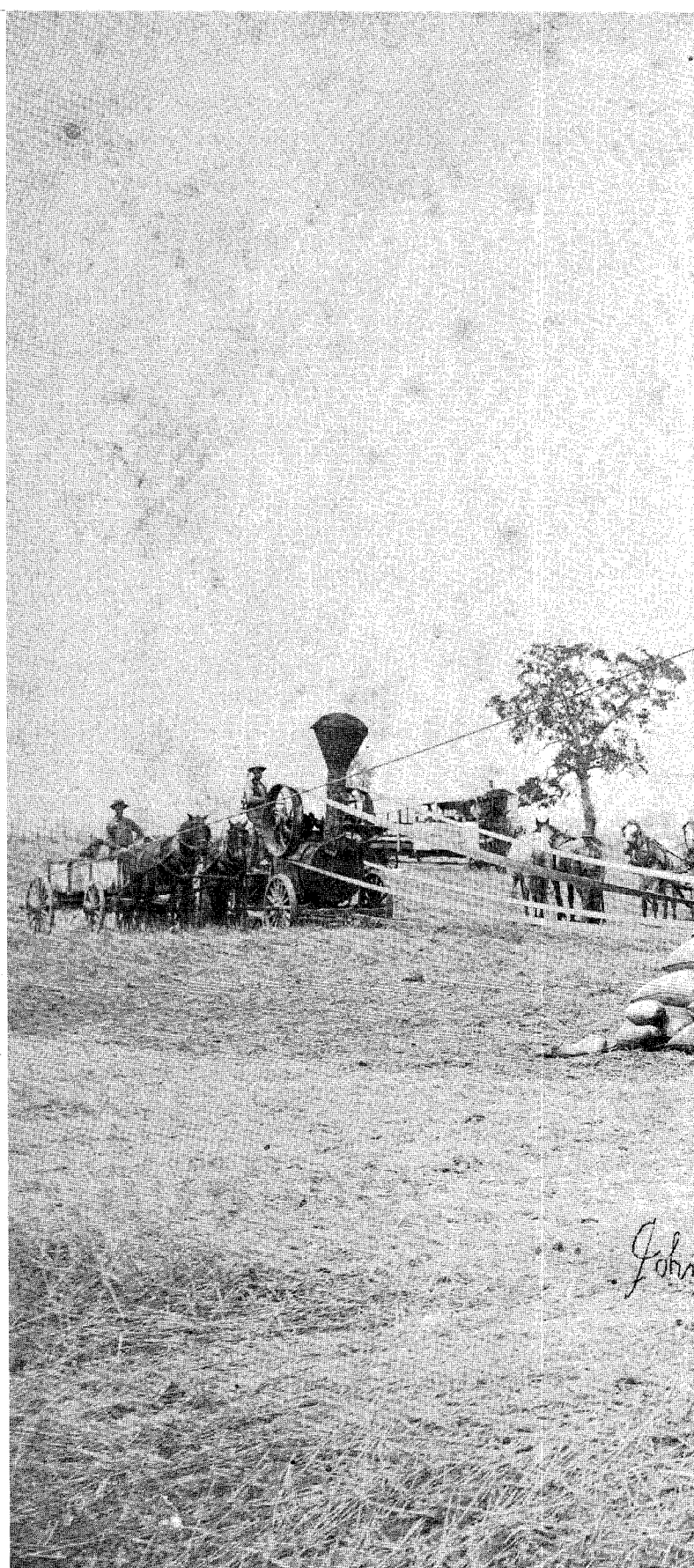
This study was financed in part by a grant from the California State University—Northridge Foundation.

Wealthy landed gentry sought conservative political leadership of California's agricultural community. Farmer John M. Benson's harvest outfit in San Joaquin County numbered some two dozen workers.

Then, in the early seventies, a challenge was raised to the prestigious position of the farm elites in the agricultural community. Despite repeated warning signs, most California husbandmen had persisted in raising wheat—the most easily and cheaply produced of frontier crops. By 1870, huge tracts of land in the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Salinas valleys had been planted to the golden grain, production had boomed, and California farmers had entered world wheat markets with their product. An export economy, however, posed serious problems for the state's isolated wheat farmers. The nearest markets were thousands of miles distant, long sea voyages necessitated special packing and handling of the crop, freight rates proved costly, and at the end of the journey wheat prices fluctuated unpredictably.⁵ Realizing that cooperative effort offered the only real protection against the exactions of numerous middlemen in this complex marketing process, California wheat growers began to organize.

In no mood for pious phrases from the State Agricultural Society about the virtues of "scientific farming," many concerned grain growers sought instead to maximize their profits through forced reductions in freight and marketing costs. By 1872, numerous small farmers' clubs had incorporated under the banner of the Farmers' Union—California's first state-level, grass-roots agrarian organization. One year later, as discontentment among growers rose to a fever pitch, the Farmers' Union sought assistance from and was subsequently absorbed by the nationwide Grange organization. By the mid-1870's a state network of 231 subordinate Granges, most in the northern wheatgrowing counties, boasted a total membership of nearly 15,000 persons.⁶

California's Grangers cast a different profile from the state's established farm elite, and the careers of two individuals, each prominent in his group, exemplify some of the differences. William Fisher, treasurer of the State Grange in the mid-seventies, arrived in California from New York during the Gold Rush. After a short stint in





A. Bensons. Outfit.
Elliott

the mines, he farmed near Marysville, then moved a year later to Napa county where he dabbled briefly in purchasing and shipping grain. Fisher eventually acquired a 350-acre farm two miles northwest of Napa where he operated a small fruit orchard, raised wheat, corn, and sheep during the seventies and eighties, and remained active in the Grange until his death in 1898. While not exactly poor, Fisher's dedication to general farming brought him only modest returns.⁷

By contrast, John Boggs, an officer of the State Agricultural Society during the 1880's, traveled to the mines from Missouri in 1849. He soon entered the horse-trading business and within a short time accumulated 400 head. Shrewd land investments brought him a measure of wealth, and by 1880 Boggs owned an 18,000-acre farm in Colusa County valued at \$300,000. Specializing in livestock and wheat production, Boggs became one of the best known agriculturists in the state. He eventually owned stock in several banks, served on the Board of Trustees of Stanford University, became Regent of the University of California, and served in the state senate. By any standards, Boggs ranked at the top of his profession,⁸ and many of California's farm elite were equally successful.

Not surprisingly, the gentlemen farmers of the State Agricultural Society viewed the rapid rise of the Grange with mixed feelings. As key figures in the improvement of California agriculture, these men understood well the unique marketing problems confronting Pacific Slope farmers and had long stressed the need for a more efficient transportation system. Many Society members, moreover, were themselves heavily involved in commercial wheat farming, and they knew first-hand the complexities and uncertainties of the specialized wheat export trade.⁹ Accordingly, several of the agricultural gentry, including wheat entrepreneur John Bidwell, supported

the vocal Grange organization and urged farmers who wished to remain solvent to follow suit. They denounced the "wheat-bag trust," usurious interest rates, railroad abuses, and other targets of the agrarians—in short, persons and practices they believed to be injurious to farmers' prosperity.¹⁰

Most gentlemen farmers, however, rejected the Grange's proposals and recommended other paths to success. The shortest route to prosperity, these Society leaders reaffirmed, lay in applying basic scientific principles to farming. They encouraged farmers to rotate their crops, to deep-plow their fields, to use fertilizers, to intermix breeds of stock in their herds, to experiment with new crops and seeds, and to systematize their operations. Blind adherence to "King Wheat," inattention to scientific methods, and poor farm management would inevitably result in failure, warned Society spokesmen; conversely, quality crops and cattle, and mastery of the techniques needed to produce them, would assure farm profits and economic progress. Crop diversification, they acknowledged, did not mean abandonment of cereal grains; grain production was too important to California's young farm economy, and in fact the Society spokesmen predicted heavy grain production indefinitely. They cautioned growers, however, that the great distance from European wheat markets posed a permanent threat to profits and urged diversification "to the extent of practicability."¹¹

In a move which brought them little popularity, California's farm elite further countered the Grange's agrarian programs by stressing character development and adherence to the work ethic. Fortune from the furrow, they maintained, only accrued to those persons who possessed energy and industry and who followed an exacting regimen of work, study, and experimentation. Accordingly, state and county fair speakers liberally sprinkled their remarks with self-help themes, and the Society's annual *Transactions* featured abundant examples of persons who, through diligent effort, progressed

Livestock exhibitions at the state fair were calculated to educate farmers about improving the quality of the rangy California beef cattle.

from being hired hands to wealthy farmers. Patience, grit, and self-denial, it was suggested, would eventually bring rewards; routine industriousness, moreover, would develop a strong and noble character. Their message was stated persistently and persuasively—man must first master himself before he can master nature.¹²

Gentlemen farmers, too, spoke critically of idlers and loafers—persons, they said, who expected financial rewards without first undergoing a necessary and difficult apprenticeship. Young men should be willing to toil as field hands, to content themselves with moderate and steady pay, and to look to the future rather than “grumbling to have to rise at daybreak.” They chided agrarians for living too fast and for being too extravagant in the tradition of Bonanza Kings.¹³ Before farmers could prosper, they asserted, they must learn the great lessons of prudence and economy. These kinds of comments, while perhaps not aimed directly at the Grange, implied criticism of farmers who did not commit all their energies to the improvement of crops and cattle.

California’s farmer elite expressed particular disgust with agrarians and other persons who blamed the seventies’ economic woes on bankers, capitalists, and railroad barons. Antimonopolist tirades by Denis Kearney and his San Francisco-based Workingmen’s Party, for ex-

California’s farm elite countered the Grange’s agrarian programs by stressing character development and adherence to the work ethic.

ample, evoked fiery responses from usually staid Society members and revealed their deep concern over “factionous” and “seditious” social elements who surfaced in the depression of the seventies. Repeated attacks against capital and corporate property, it was feared, would drive manufacturers from the state, increase unemployment, and promote social discord. “Let this war upon capital . . . and corporate interests be kept up and maintained a little while longer,” declared Society president Marcus Boruck in 1878, “and the streets of our cities will afford magnificent avenues for grazing cattle.”¹⁴ Generally, the farm elite enjoyed close financial ties with the business community, and they resisted efforts to restructure the established order, countering violence and labor strife by reaffirming the tenets of self-help and the free enterprise system.



Granges also publicized their activities at the state fair, as demonstrated by this 1900's exhibit of crops by Local 12. This future-oriented club increased its visibility by incorporating electric light bulbs into its display.



Although California's agricultural gentry rarely referred to the Grange by name, spokesmen left little doubt they disapproved of Grangers' antibusiness sentiments. As early as 1874, for example, criticism of the Patrons' imbroglios with local merchants surfaced at a meeting of the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Society.¹⁵ The Grangers' well-publicized efforts to break the Central Pacific Railroad "monopoly," coupled with their vitriolic attacks on "unjust" railroad magnates, upset most of the farm elite even more. During the 1870's California agrarians waged a vigorous campaign to reduce railroad freight fares and to place legislative controls on railroad management. Joined in their crusade by unemployed laborers and hard-pressed merchants, the Grangers obtained passage of a state law in 1876 which prohibited many unpopular railroad practices, including the levying of discriminatory freight rates. The law, however, proved to be ineffectual, and it was followed by creation of a State Railroad Commission with broader rate-setting powers. When in the 1880's the state commission, too, failed to curb railroad excesses to the satisfaction of Patrons, they ultimately sought federal help. The Grange's *Proceedings* between 1880 and 1887, the year the

Interstate Commerce Act was passed, are filled with resolutions and committee reports demanding congressional controls on transportation, freight, and tonnage rates and prohibition of the onerous and corrupting free-pass system which provided free transportation to lobbyists and other political allies of railroad companies. Only the federal government, Grangers believed, could check the "ruinous extortions practiced by the railroad monopolists."¹⁶

Gentlemen farmers viewed the railroad regulations movement with alarm. As prime boosters of the first transcontinental link and firm believers in the close relationship of railroads to farm growth, they resented "malicious insinuations" about railway corporations and feared the negative impact this kind of rhetoric might have on future railroad construction. "The California farmer in particular is indebted to the iron horse," asserted one rail enthusiast at the height of agitation in the late seventies. "It . . . has placed us on a competing scale with the rest of America, with the rest of the World!"¹⁷ Society spokesmen stressed the vital link between railways and farm markets, land values, and population growth, at the same time repeatedly praising the skills

and achievements of the Central Pacific's "Big Four"—Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford (a State Society member), Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins. When agrarian regulationists, stymied by legal battles and court delays, boldly proposed public ownership of transportation companies, the farm elite vehemently disagreed.

"These fantastic notions," declared Marin County cattle breeder James Shafter, "lead the people to indulge in delusions . . . and throw the honest but uninformed mind into the control of the worst elements of society."¹⁸ As to what the government was expected to do with the companies when it obtained them, Shafter, in concert with most farm elites, remained caustically skeptical.

Society members did seek speedier, less costly delivery (particularly for perishable fruit) to eastern markets during the eighties, but they did so without warring on railroads. They perceived freight rates to be a business matter and urged producers to negotiate directly with carriers. Railroad operators, they asserted, were generally amenable to reason and argument. If operators could be persuaded that lower fares would stimulate farm production and increase carload volume, shipping rates inevitably would drop. Unfortunately, declared one Tehama county agriculturist, "there are persons who will never be content until . . . transportation companies have been cinched."¹⁹ For these persons, reasonable rate reductions would not suffice. To rebut regulationists' arguments, farm elites detailed the rapid rise of eastbound rail shipments during the eighties and credited sharply reduced freight fares to the business acumen of intelligent growers rather than to governmental pressures. As men of wealth and property, agricultural gentry—more so than the average farmer—could accept railroad leaders on neutral terms and appreciate the many difficulties involved in establishing rail connections with distant entrepôts. In contradistinction to the Grangers, they perceived railroad directors as contributors to economic growth, and they thus approached transportation issues in a businesslike and non-combative manner.

"There are persons who will never be content until . . . transportation companies have been cinched."

Gentlemen farmers charted an independent course from Grangers on other issues as well. The question of land monopoly triggered heated political battles in Gilded Age California and evoked deep resentment, particularly among small farmers.²⁰ Millions of mostly uncultivated acres in the state remained in large estates established in the Spanish-Mexican era, and during the sixties and seventies the federal government had allotted huge additional tracts to railroads as subsidies for expanding their lines. These lands were priced considerably above the government minimum level of \$1.25 per acre, and purchase remained beyond the reach of all but the best-financed farm seekers. As a result, the small-scale farmer in California, to a much greater extent than farmers elsewhere on the trans-Mississippi farming frontier, had difficulty obtaining a substantial foothold on the land.²¹ Throughout the seventies and eighties Grangers vigorously attacked the "machinations of land monopolists," urged tax reforms to discourage property-holding for speculative purposes, and opposed land grants to "voracious" railway corporations. "The public lands are property of the people," they declared, "and should be exclusively held for actual settlers."²² To Grangers, this concentration of property in a few hands was not only a bar to settlement, but an evil in itself—a form of oppression as villainous as fraudulent business practices.

As early as the 1850's gentlemen farmers had also complained that California's landed estates were a hindrance to the spread of agriculture and a deterrent to immigration, but they remained less willing to criticize land monopolists than the Grangers. Large property holders,

they asserted repeatedly, should not be blamed for accumulating vast holdings. "They buy because no man desiring a home at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre has preempted the desired land," proclaimed one farm brahmin. "What is there wrong in one's complying with such an invitation, and paying the price?"²³

When antimonopolist forces, including some agrarians, pushed land redistribution schemes in the late seventies, the farming elite took a hard line. Confiscation and disposal of property without the owner's consent, they warned, would be in violation of the federal Constitution. While gentlemen farmers acknowledged, and in some instances deplored, the existence of land monopoly, most thought the problem would eventually correct itself. Property in California, they stated, would in time become so valuable that owners of large estates would be persuaded to sell. In the meantime the problem for newcomers was far from hopeless. Proclaimed one optimist: "Taking everything into consideration, land has been

the cheapest of all our commodities. A home . . . is easily within the reach of every head of family who will, with reasonable good fortune and health, set himself to acquire it."²⁴

Society leaders also expressed little enthusiasm for tax reform as a method for subdividing lands, and they particularly criticized the single tax plan of California journalist Henry George. "His work conveys to my mind this idea," declared the keynote speaker before the State Agricultural Society in 1882, "a man who, starting to build a pyramid, laid well his foundation . . . and then thereon erected 'The House that Jack Built.'"²⁵ In general, farm elites adopted a moderate stance on the land question, content to let time and the private sector solve one of the state's most vexing problems. Government interference, some believed, might create more problems than it would solve.

Another sensitive controversy in post-Civil War California—the debate over mining debris—revealed addi-

Hydraulic mining in the 1850's and 1860's produced waste sand and gravel which slowly washed downstream and inundated farm lands. Grangers demanded government controls on the mining industry to prevent future devastations.



tional differences between Grangers and gentlemen farmers. Hydraulic mining operations begun in the mid-fifties produced immense amounts of waste sand and gravel, much of which found its way downstream to clog navigable rivers and cover huge tracts of grass and farming lands with a debris called "slickens." As the years passed, sand and sediment buried whole farms, and economic losses to property owners in portions of the Sacramento Valley mounted steeply during the seventies. Farmers went to court, sought legislative controls to prevent future devastation, and looked for allies.²⁶ Predictably, Grangers perceived the issue as another example of corporate mismanagement and sided solidly with the aggrieved farmers against the mining industry. For over a decade Patrons passed lengthy resolutions detailing the disastrous impact of hydraulic mining on natural resources and campaigned strenuously for its abolishment. The dumping of mining wastes, they warned, would eventually "render our great valleys uninhabitable." The contest, in their view, was no less than a struggle for survival between the "two great interests of the Pacific Coast"—agriculture and mining. There could be no middle ground nor compromise.²⁷

California's farm elite contributed little to the debate until it had reached tempest proportions in the early eighties. Then, as lawsuits multiplied and bitterness soared, they belatedly tried to play a conciliatory role. Society leaders recognized the destructive aspects of hydraulic mining but refused to side publicly with irate Sacramento Valley farmers. Speaking to a state fair audience in 1881, Society president James Shafter maintained, "I am here the advocate of neither [farmers nor miners] and am, as I hope you all are, the friend of any honorable industry." The courts, he continued, would adjust the rights of both parties without injury to either, and "the law of absolute justice would prevail."²⁸ In the meantime, he said, farmers should remember the incalculable contributions of the mining industry to the state's economy and, ultimately, to the financing of farms and

ranches. Without a continual expansion of circulating medium, he implied, agriculture would flounder.

After the courts had banned hydraulic mining practices in 1884 (although the illegal dumping of mining wastes continued for another decade), Society spokesmen sought to smooth over the acrimonious feelings produced by the battle. Neither side, declared politically prominent Aaron A. Sargent, had been moved by malicious motives, but only by the desire to protect their interests. Damage caused by mining debris, he asserted, was "involuntary," although stricken farmers had "respectable premises for their complaints."²⁹ On balance, members of the farm elite assigned more importance to the pernicious effects of hydraulicking than to miners' rights, but they meticulously presented the miners' side of the issue and expressed regret for the hardships caused by the 1884 decision. To farm brahmins, who were sensitive to the interrelationships between business, manufacturing, and agriculture, the antihydraulicking movement posed a difficult and delicate dilemma. They vacillated on the issue and later lamely wrote off the entire matter as "a misfortune growing out of the nature of things." During the 1890's gentlemen farmers continued to support the mining industry and, in collaboration with mining entrepreneurs, initiated an annual state mining exhibit (including hydraulic mining equipment) at the 1892 state fair.³⁰

The farm elite deviated from the standard Grange position on yet another issue of major importance to Gilded Age Californians. During the mid-nineteenth century, thousands of Chinese had entered the state to work in the mines and build the Central Pacific railroad. Tolerated by the white majority as long as jobs and wages were abundant, the Chinese became targets for hostility in the seventies when placer mining declined, railroads were completed, and the economy slumped. Record

*"Why may we not lay hold of China
commercially and convert that vast empire . . .
into a boundless and never-failing market
for all our surplus flour?"*

immigration levels during the decade aggravated the problem. Unemployed laborers, distressed farmers, and other malcontents increasingly vented their frustrations on the Orientals, urged their exclusion from the state, and demanded a ban on new immigrants from China. By 1877 the "Chinese Question"—in tandem with railroad, land, and tax issues—dominated California politics and became a central factor in the thrust for state constitutional reform.³¹

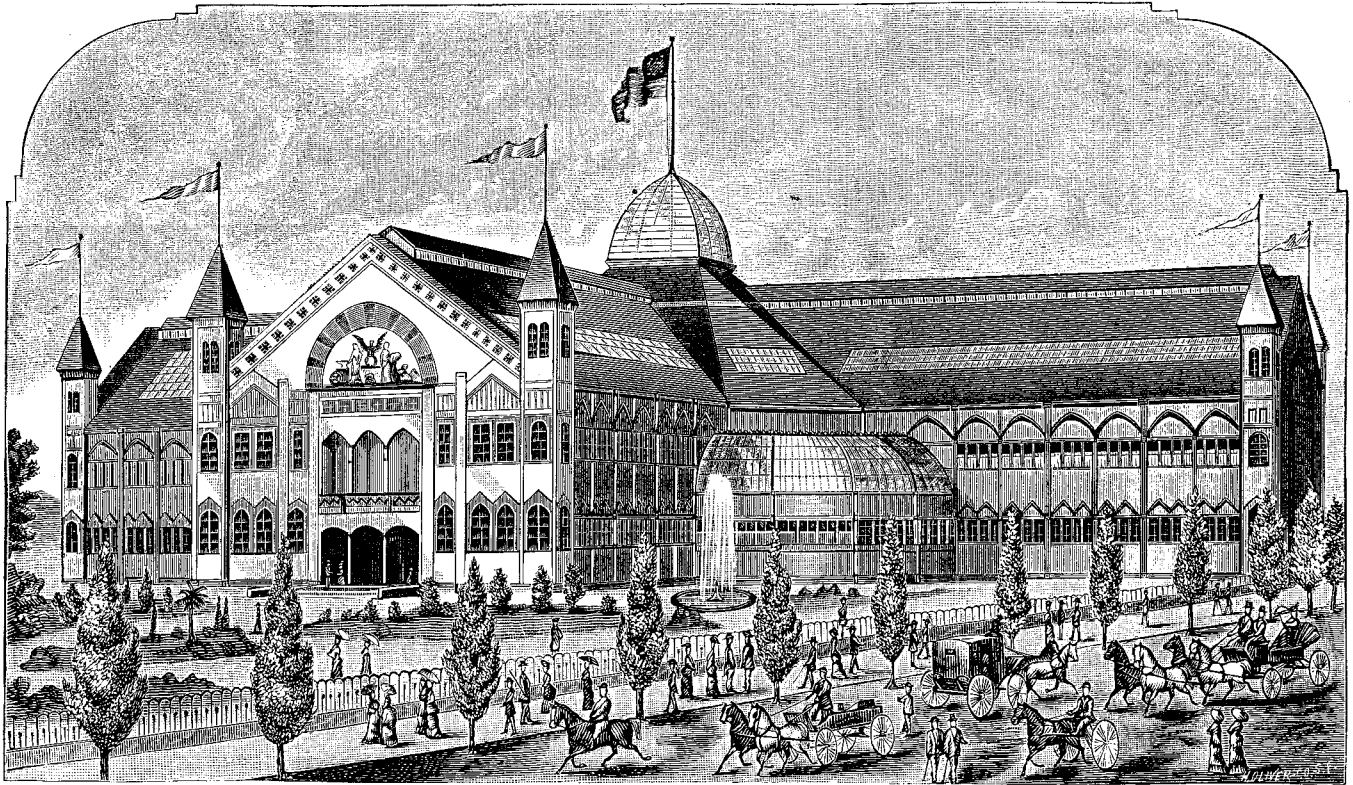
California Grangers joined the mounting drive for Chinese exclusion, pressed farmers to dispense with Chinese laborers whenever possible, and catalogued the many "evils" of Oriental immigration. Cheap coolie labor, they perceived, was an aid to monopolists—particularly large landholders and railroads, the arch enemies—and an obstacle to work opportunities for farm youth. In 1877 and again in 1878 the State Grange passed resolutions urging Congress to prevent further importation "of this scourge to western humanity and civilization." To Grange leaders the Chinese immigrants represented an "overshadowing curse which are sapping the foundation of our prosperity, the dignity of labor, and the glory of our State."³²

While California's farm elite acknowledged the problems posed by a heavy influx of Chinese, they usually defended coolie labor against the onslaught of critics during the peak years of anti-Chinese sentiment. Cheap wages, they argued, stimulated both intensive and extensive agricultural development, as well as the construction of needed railroads. Further, they stated repeatedly,

the Chinese had little to do with the current economic difficulties. Numerous factors had caused the present downturn, most importantly the flooding of California markets with cheaply produced eastern products. The unrealistically high wage demands of white workers in California, they agreed, forced employers to seek a cheaper labor source, but the impact of Orientals upon the price of labor was less than claimed. "The writers dip their pens in gall, and slash away diatribes against that bugbear John Chinaman, and would have us believe he is the plague of the nation," grumbled a Society officer in 1877. "They simply argue from one set of facts and ignore another. . . ."³³

The farm elite shrewdly went on to utilize the "Chinese Question" to chide the much-despised supporters of the antimonopolist Workingmen's movement and to promote their favored self-help beliefs. They praised the Chinese for their steady work habits, uncomplaining manner, and their numerous construction accomplishments, including the massive flood-control dykes in the Sacramento Valley which were crucial adjuncts to the land reclamation process.

The agricultural gentry advanced additional arguments in support of the harassed Chinese. Americans, they asserted, had traditionally defended the right of individuals to select their own domicile; the exclusion of Orientals (though ineligible for citizenship) would negate this time-hallowed practice. Then, too, the constant and irritating comparisons between whites and Chinese, warned one orator, tended "to lower the self-respect and to degrade the character. . . . Our tendencies are strong enough already to lapse and decay; we need no augmentation in that direction."³⁴ In a more pragmatic vein, farm brahmin John Bidwell saw friendship with China as a concomitant to the enlargement of California's Pacific Ocean commerce in wheat. "Why may we not lay hold of China commercially and convert that vast empire . . . into a boundless and never-failing market for all our surplus flour?" he wondered. But first, harass-



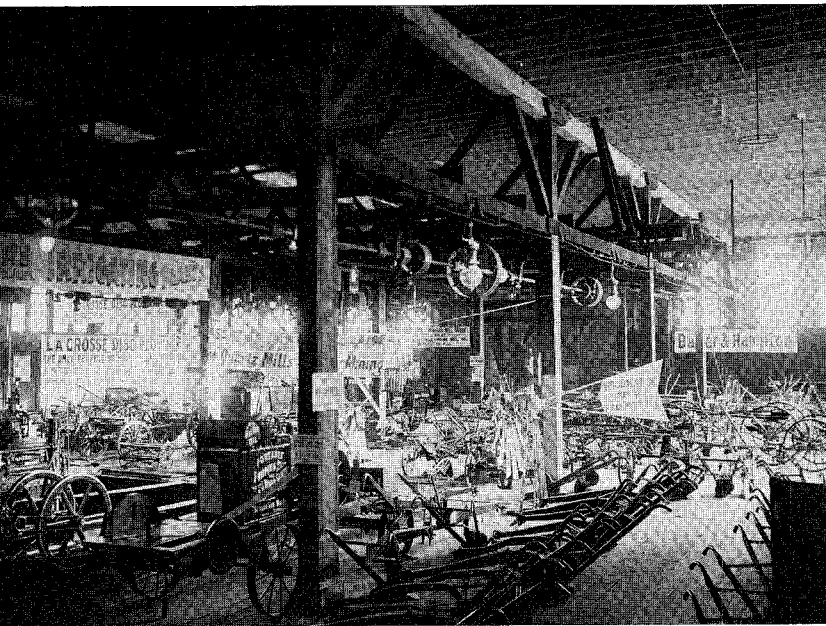
ment of the Chinese must cease, and amicable relations with China must be cultivated.³⁵

Two factors influenced the gentlemen farmers' stance on the "Chinese Question." First, they believed cheap Chinese labor to be essential for profitable, large-scale farming in California. High land and transportation costs necessitated low wages for farm workers, lest California products be priced out of eastern and European markets. Even a cursory reading of the sources reveals the solidly economic orientation of the farm elite's thinking on the issue. Bidwell's candid admission that future market opportunities in the Pacific were tied to friendly relations with the Chinese underscores the point. Secondly, the agricultural gentry linked strong animosity towards the Chinese with the antimonopolist movement, and, accordingly, they defended Oriental labor as part of their countermove to thwart antimonopolistic demands. The Chinese, in effect, became pawns in this power struggle between the "ins" and their challengers. Rarely did the farm elite praise Chinese culture or Chinese immigrants as persons.

To be sure, California's farm gentry (most of whom were native-born) demonstrated the same nativist sentiments held by millions of American citizens in the Gilded

Age. For example, Society spokesmen at various times during the post-Civil War decades described people of Spanish descent as "lazy," the Chinese as "an alien, heathen population," Italians and Egyptians as "slow plodding people," and Mexicans as "an authentic case of arrested race development." Strikes and violent protests, commonplace in the late seventies, were perceived by one orator as "devilish foreign-born schemes of idle, vicious scum." Conversely, Anglo-Saxons, proclaimed Society president Frederick Cox in 1892, constituted a powerful race. Another farm brahmin boasted to a receptive Society gathering in 1886, "Europe produces . . . nothing equal to the American citizen. We indeed are a favored people." Members of the farm elite repeatedly referred to the superiority of the New World over the Old and unabashedly promoted the tenets of Americanism and patriotism. Immigrants were welcome, indeed needed, in post-Civil War California, but it was generally assumed they came "to find themselves freed from degrading competitions to which they have been subjected elsewhere." Egalitarianism, in short, played no part in the farm elite's defense of the Chinese.³⁶

Another point of departure between gentlemen farmers and Grangers pertained to their divergent atti-



Farm equipment manufacturers advertised their improved machines at the 1903 state fair in Sacramento.

tudes towards agriculture as a profession and husbandmen as individuals. California Patrons, like their associates across the nation, offered countless testimonials to the innate nobility of the yeoman farmer and to farming as the primary vocation of man. When husbandry fails, Patrons habitually avowed, the state and nation fails, “but in its support and elevation” the state and nation prosper. In Jeffersonian spirit, California agrarians eulogized “tillers of the soil” and considered them an important bulwark against American decadence.³⁷

Gentlemen farmers, too, extolled the virtues and dignity of country life and supported the belief that agriculture was a noble calling. They rejected the premise, however, that residence on a farm automatically endowed a person with unique qualities and a special role in society. On the contrary, they claimed, too many California husbandmen neglected to maintain properly their homes and farms, were ignorant of even the simplest husbandry techniques, and did not understand the true philosophy of farming. As a result, they lamented, many farms were in disrepair, California farmsteads ranked unfavorably with homesteads back east, and rural elegance was mostly a myth. Members of the elite, in short, were quick to criticize and slow to praise the farming operations of their colleagues. Farming is a science, they monotoned, and only skilled craftsmen—as in any profession—deserved the applause and respect of society. “The true farmer is not content to merely make a living, or to merely get rich,” affirmed one purist; “he has a

noble ambition to excel in his vocation.”³⁸ Mastery of one’s job and the quest for perfection counted more with the farm elite than did a man’s occupation.

Finally, farm elites and Grangers disagreed on the proper structure for formal agricultural education in California. Society leaders, key figures in the formation of the University of California in the late sixties, urged the university’s infant College of Agriculture to offer a mix of theoretical and practical courses with a solid emphasis on the agricultural sciences. Farming, they asserted, was an art *and* a science, and only by studying it “in all its departments” could one hope to prosper, particularly in a state with such varied resources as California. (As self-proclaimed “scientific agriculturists” they could hardly do otherwise.) Farm gentry, moreover, foresaw a major research role for the “Ag College.” Much like agricultural scientists of a later era, they perceived the young state university as a center for the formulation and testing of innovative farming techniques.³⁹

Grange leaders, on the other hand, generally stressed the importance of a “practical” education and the training of students who could handle a plow and turn a straight furrow. When, in the mid-1870’s, Grangers decided that the College of Agriculture’s curriculum was too academically oriented, they berated university officials, charged the Board of Regents with “unfitness, incompetency, and bad management,” and demanded greater emphasis on training in the mechanic arts. The resulting furor led to the firing of the university’s first professor of

agriculture, Ezra S. Carr, and to the departure of the university's second president, Daniel Coit Gilman, to greener pastures in the East.⁴⁰

The farm elite, like the Grangers, *did* criticize the Board of Regents for the manner in which they administered the congressional grant for agricultural education. The intent of the Morrill Act of 1862, they maintained, was to foster the teaching of agriculture and to stimulate the development of agricultural knowledge. Yet, university officials interpreted the term agriculture to include a host of subjects including classical studies. Thus, according to Society leaders, the Regents had improperly diverted a large portion of the land-grant funds to non-agricultural areas. While elite farmers had no quarrel with the classics, they resented the use of Morrill Act funds for this purpose.⁴¹

One solution, acceptable to farm elites and Grangers alike, was to separate agricultural training from the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Such a move, it was argued, would increase enrollments, reduce the temptation for farm youth to pursue other professions, free the "Ag College" from outside influences,

and enhance the quality of the agricultural program. Yet, to members of the farm elite separation did not mean complete withdrawal from the university. They recognized the prestige and value of a university education for farm youth and sought only to remove the College of Agriculture's instructional program to a rural site away from the clutches of academic empire builders.⁴² The State Grange, on the other hand, urged that the agricultural college be "completely divorced" from the university and that administrative controls on tax-supported higher education be fundamentally reorganized.⁴³ Farm elites, in short, would effect reforms within the university framework; Grangers would start afresh.

The distinction proved crucial for the future of the College of Agriculture and the university. Without the farm elite's support, Grangers failed to achieve wholesale revision of the university structure. Later, when the University Farm School was opened at Davisville in 1909—due in large part to the efforts of the Society's secretary, Peter J. Shields—its instructional program combined the principles with the practices of agriculture, the essential blend favored by California's farm elite.



This forward-looking, if over-ambitious, farmer's experiment in 1902 with diverse and intensive farming resulted in a dense carpet of strawberries, dewberries, and walnuts.

The curriculum of the proposed "Ag College" at Davis became a point of contention between the "scientific" gentry and the "practical" Grangers (photo c.1925).

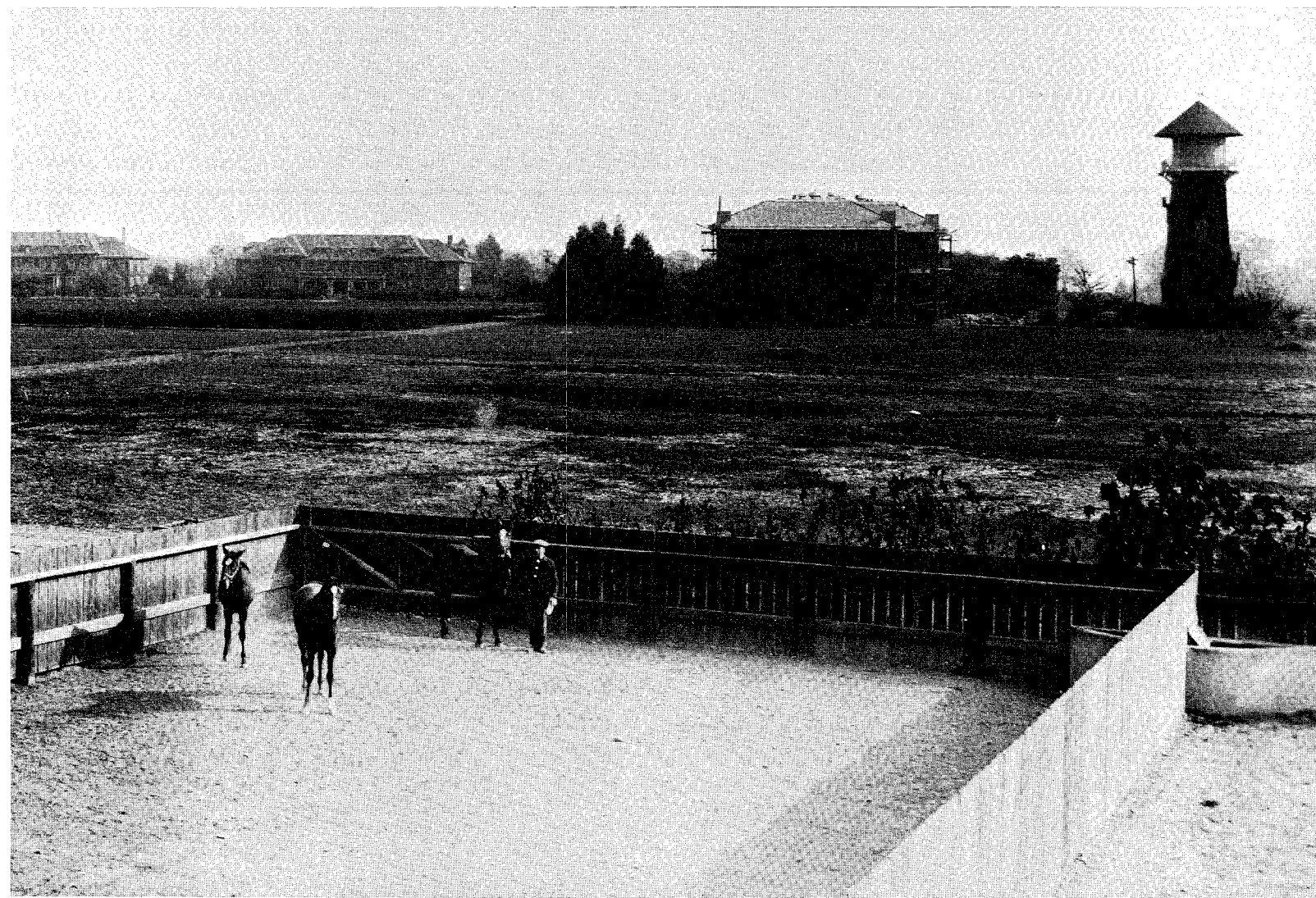
To what factors can the divergence between gentleman farmers and Grange leaders on major issues in the seventies and eighties be attributed? Certainly both groups desired agricultural growth, greater financial rewards for husbandmen, and farm improvements. Both the farming elite and the Grangers, moreover, perceived the emerging agricultural industry with its immense economic potential to be crucial to the state's future development. Gentlemen farmers, however, defined improvements and growth in terms of quality crops and cattle, prudent adjustments to soils and climate, experimentation with new plants and livestock, widespread adherence to ethics of self-help and work, and the adoption of "scientific farming" techniques. They fixed their attention on the farm (and ranch) and sought success through the development of agricultural skills, versatility, and knowledge. Granger agrarians, on the other hand, focused their attention on outsiders, "monopolists" who deliberately or inadvertently made decisions that demolished opportunities for "average" farmers. Railroad barons and other large-scale capitalists had to be harnessed, they affirmed, before husbandmen could thrive and prosper. This perspective led to militant rhetoric and an aggressive stance on major political issues. Thus, while farm elites and Grangers could agree on broad, fundamental objectives, they defined and pursued them in a significantly different fashion.

Socio-economic data furnish additional clues to the split in the California countryside. Gentlemen farmers, for example, enjoyed a greater degree of financial security than Grangers. The holdings of State Agricultural Society officers who farmed or raised cattle ranked far above those of Grange leaders in farm size, production value, and farm value. Federal manuscript census data for 1870 and 1880 indicate that Society officers' farms compared



to those of State Grange officers as follows: a median acreage of 1220 acres compared to 319 acres; a median production value of \$5,625 compared to \$3,200; and a median value of \$38,875 compared to \$9,333.

Clear distinctions between the two groups appeared in other socio-economic indices as well. In 1870 a typical California Grange leader, for example, reported less than one-sixth the assessed valuation (mean values) of a typical member of the farm elite's personal property in 1870 and about 40 percent of their real property.⁴⁴ Gentlemen farmers, moreover, were as apt to live in town (usually Sacramento or San Francisco) as on a farm. A commanding 42 per cent in the period between 1865 and 1890 resided in or near Sacramento, the home of the state fair and the Agricultural Society. Conversely, 93 per cent of the Grange officers lived on farms.



California's farm elite were far from "average" in other respects as well. Data from voting registers, newspapers, legislative blue books, county histories, and archival materials reveal that over half of the Society's officers in the period from 1865 to 1890 had attended or completed college. One of four served in the state legislature in the post-Civil War era, and one of two held a local government office. Most also claimed membership in prominent social organizations and commanded recognition as community leaders. Unquestionably, members of the farm elite were better equipped than Grangers to handle the financial chaos and abrupt economic shifts that characterized Gilded Age California. Urban-based gentlemen farmers also intermingled to a much greater extent than Grangers with political, professional, and business leaders, *i.e.*, men who articulated

the views held by capitalists and the well-to-do and who more often than not supported the political, social, and economic status quo. These contacts certainly sensitized the farm gentry to the complex interrelationships between agriculture, business, and mining and cooled their enthusiasm for the Grangers' simplistic antimonopolist programs.

Status considerations, too, reinforced the gulf between Grangers and farm gentry. Each considered their organization to be the proper leader of the farming community, and each was convinced that they had the true remedy for farm ills. The result was a friendly but spirited rivalry that reached a peak during the tumult of the late seventies. For example, Grangers declared that only "honest agriculturists" were wanted in their organization, and they chided wealthy farmers who benefited

from the Grangers' labors but who "selfishly . . . stand on the outside of the gates."⁴⁵ Farm elites, conversely, openly criticized the Patrons' business schemes and steadfastly disassociated themselves from their antimonopolist uproar in California. For most farm brahmins, to be linked with the bellicose Grange was an unpleasant prospect. Few joined the organization or participated in the Patrons' multifarious activities.⁴⁶

To declare that California's farm leaders disagreed on key issues in the post-Civil War period is hardly a revelation. Yet most historical studies, by inference or by design, continue to portray the Grange as the one voice of rural America in the 1870's. Unquestionably, Grangers expressed the beliefs of millions of rural people, but the Gilded Age farm community was not a homogeneous entity. In California, leaders of the State Agricultural Society differed significantly with the Grangers on the railroad question, existing patterns of land ownership, hydraulic mining practices, labor and immigration issues, farming as a profession, and the techniques and content of agricultural education. The maze of opinions advanced by farm spokesmen in the twentieth century only underscores the continuing complexity of identifying the "collective voice" of the farm community.

All the photographs are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. See for example, Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement* (Cambridge, 1913), and the more recent work by S. Sven Nordin, *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867-1900* (Jackson, 1974). While no recent book-length study has appeared about California Grangers in this era, Rodman Paul and Clarke A. Chambers have treated selected aspects of the subject. See Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War: The Grangers Challenge the Wheat King," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVII (November, 1958), and Clarke A. Chambers, *California Farm Organizations: A Historical Study of the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Associated Farmers 1929-1941* (Berkeley, 1952), pp. 9-13.
2. *Official Report of the California State Grange*, 1873 (San Francisco, 1873), pp. 5-6; *ibid.*, 1878, pp. 27-30; *ibid.*, 1879, pp. 5, hereafter cited as *Grange Proceedings*; Chambers, *California Farm Organizations*, 9-12; Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War," 342-345.
3. For an incisive discussion of large-scale farmers in American agriculture, see Morton Rothstein, "The Big Farm: Abundance and Scale in American Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, XLIX (October, 1975): pp. 583-597.
4. *The Statutes of California 1854* (San Francisco, 1854), chapter 100, pp. 163-165. By 1859 Society membership numbered 1,100. In 1863 the affairs of the Society were entrusted to a Board of Agriculture consisting of a president and nine directors. *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society 1879* (Sacramento, 1879), pp. 185, 194, hereafter cited as *CSAS Transactions*. For material on the first state fair, see "Warren's Two Private Fairs Started It," typescript in the Hal Higgins Collection, Hal Higgins Library of Agricultural Technology, University of California at Davis; Lyman M. King, "Fairs of Yesterday," *California Journal of Development*, XX (August, 1930): 22, 37; and Charles W. Paine, "Early Days of California State Fairs," *The Grizzly Bear*, XXXIX (August, 1926): 6, supplement 1.
5. Rodman Paul, "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (December, 1958): 391-392, 396-398; Morton Rothstein, "A British Firm on the American West Coast, 1869-1914," *Business History Review*, XXXVII (Winter, 1963): 395-396.
6. *Proceedings of the California Farmers' Union* (San Francisco, 1873), pp. 2, 5, 13-15; Ezra Carr, *The Patrons of Husbandry on the West Coast* (San Francisco, 1875), pp. 81, 103, 131; Chambers, *California Farm Organizations*, 9-10.
7. Thomas Gregory, et al, *History of Solano and Napa Counties California* (Los Angeles, 1912), p. 345. While a few Grange leaders owned considerable property at the time of their involvement with the Grange (see for example, Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War," 344), Fisher more closely approximates the norm.
8. Justus H. Rogers, *Colusa County: Its History and Resources* (Orland, California, 1891), pp. 371-376.
9. Federal census data indicate that nine of forty-five Society officers between 1865 and 1890 raised substantial amounts of wheat during the 1870's.
10. See, for example, *CSAS Transactions*, 1872, pp. 5-7; *ibid.*, 1870, p. 79. Bidwell was an active participant in the Farmers' Union and the Grange. See *Bidwell Diaries*, California State Library, Sacramento, VII, September 25, 1872; *ibid.*, VIII, October 25, 1873; *Grange Proceedings*, 1882, p. 44.
11. *CSAS Transactions*, 1875, p. 10; *ibid.*, 1881, pp. 32-33, 286, 393.
12. *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 253; *ibid.*, 1877, p. 102.
13. Declared one Society member in the mid-seventies, "We are

- unable to forget the days of forty-nine. We are blinded with the glitter of the costly trappings of our Bonanza Kings." CSAS *Transactions*, 1876, p. 80.
14. *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 101.
 15. *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 624.
 16. *Grange Proceedings*, 1874, pp. 10-11; *ibid.*, 1881, pp. 17-18; *ibid.*, 1882, p. 20. Passage of the Interstate Commerce Act did not terminate the Grangers' concern with railroads. Warned past-Grange Master J. V. Webster in 1892, "Like a tiger in silent waiting, it is the policy of the Southern Pacific railroad people to stir only when there is big game in sight." CSAS *Transactions*, 1892, p. 441.
 17. CSAS *Transactions*, 1878, p. 113.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
 19. *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 203. See also *ibid.*, 1885, pp. 178-179.
 20. Of course, small farmers in California during the 1870's and 1880's commonly owned larger farms (statewide average: 482 acres in 1870, 462 acres in 1880) than small farmers elsewhere in the United States. See *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1896), pp. 95-96.
 21. Gilbert C. Fite, *The Farmers' Frontier 1865-1900* (New York, 1966), pp. 162-163; Chambers, *California Farm Organizations*, 9. The number of farms in California grew from 18,716 in 1860 to 52,894 in 1890; conversely, Kansas farms in the same period increased from 10,400 to 166,617. *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1896), pp. 95-96.
 22. *Grange Proceedings*, 1881, p. 17. See also *ibid.*, 1875, p. 21.
 23. CSAS *Transactions*, 1878, p. 112; *ibid.*, 1859, pp. 361-363.
 24. *Ibid.*, 1876, pp. 78, 126-127.
 25. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 29.
 26. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), VII: 645-648; Robert L. Kelley, *Gold vs. Grain: The Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California's Central Valley* (Glen-dale, 1959), pp. 14-15.
 27. *Grange Proceedings*, 1881, pp. 20-21; *ibid.*, 1882, p. 83; *ibid.*, 1879, p. 13.
 28. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, pp. 12-13; *ibid.*, 1883, p. 141.
 29. *Ibid.*, 1885, pp. 574-575.
 30. *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 105-106.
 31. Elmer C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, 1939), pp. 10-11, 16; Warren A. Beck and David A. Williams, *California: A History of the Golden State* (Garden City, 1972), p. 251.
 32. *Grange Proceedings*, 1877, pp. 48, 55; *ibid.*, 1878, p. 28; Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement*, 32-33.
 33. CSAS *Transactions*, 1877, pp. 100-101; *ibid.*, 1878, pp. 122-124. For evidence that Society leaders continued to hire Chinese laborers well into the 1880's, see "Anti-Chinese Club of Chico to John Bidwell," March 1, 1886, *Bidwell Papers*, Box 64, California State Library, Sacramento.
 34. CSAS *Transactions*, 1878, p. 124.
 35. *Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 34-35.
 36. *Ibid.*, 1870, pp. 83, 87; *ibid.*, 1874, p. 202; *ibid.*, 1881, pp. 305, 394; *ibid.*, 1886, pp. 183, 185, 695; *ibid.*, 1887, p. 232; *ibid.*, 1892, p. 90. Forty of the forty-five Society officers in this study were native-born.
 37. *Grange Proceedings*, 1876, p. 34; *ibid.*, 1881, p. 5.
 38. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, p. 311; *ibid.*, 1877, pp. 103, 106-107.
 39. Verne A. Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 21-22; CSAS *Transactions*, 1866, p. 75; *ibid.*, 1871, pp. 421-422; *ibid.*, 1877, p. 106; *ibid.*, 1881, p. 14; *ibid.*, 1884, pp. 165-166.
 40. *Grange Proceedings*, 1874, pp. 49, 53; Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868-1968* (Berkeley, 1970), p. 69; Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California*, p. 12.
 41. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, p. 16. For details on the management of the state's agricultural college lands, see Paul W. Gates, "California's Agricultural College Lands," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXX (May, 1961): 103-122.
 42. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, pp. 89-91; *ibid.*, 1883, p. 143.
 43. *Grange Proceedings*, 1877, p. 47; Stadtman, *The University of California*, 71-72.
 44. The mean value of farm elites' personal property in 1870 was \$31,777 and State Grange officers', \$4,981; farm elites' real property was assessed at \$35,965 and State Grange officers', \$15,305. Federal census data were located for thirty-nine of the forty-five persons who served as Society officers between 1865 and 1890 and for forty-one of the forty-nine persons who held office in the State Grange between 1873 and 1890.
- While it is true, as Rodman Paul has pointed out, that some of California's early Grange leaders were men of economic substance, the officer group taken as a whole ranks considerably below leaders of the State Agricultural Society. See Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War," 344.
45. *Grange Proceedings*, 1876, p. 14; *ibid.*, 1882, pp. 35-36, 39; *Pacific Rural Press*, October 1, 1881.
 46. For example, only four of forty-five Society leaders were members of the State Grange during the 1870's and 1880's.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Pictorial lithographs of California produced during the nineteenth century have only just begun to attract the wide-spread recognition which they deserve for their artistic merit and their significance as unusual historical documents. They form a remarkable body of work which illustrates an eventful period of California's history and culture as could no other medium, with the exception of photography. However, some of the lithographs' most interesting scenes and subjects are those which were either impossible to record with the camera, or for which no comparable quantity of photographic images exist. Noteworthy in the former category are the ubiquitous bird's-eye views of cities, towns, and mining camps of the frontier regions; the latter category encompasses, among other subjects, the fantastic human spectacle of the Gold Rush which reached its hysterical peak while photography was still in its early stages.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 initiated an almost instantaneous transformation of the once tranquil, semi-wilderness on the western edge of the continent into the focus of one of the greatest migrations in American history. Among those who hurried to claim their share of the bounty were artists and craftsmen, many of whom initially came to seek their fortunes in the gold fields but soon turned to artwork or other more profitable enterprises to secure dependable incomes. In the bustling commercial center of San Francisco, lithographic publishing houses were established about 1850, and the art flourished steadily into the late nineteenth century when it was displaced by other newer processes as the primary mode of popular visual communication. Pioneer lithographers such as Joseph Britton and J. J. Rey, who established themselves in San Francisco in 1852, were soon followed by talented artists, lithographers, and printers like Charles Kuchel, Emil Dresel, Arthur and Charles Nahl, Louis Nagel, George H. Baker, C. B. Gifford, Edward Bosqui, and others.

A quick, versatile, and inexpensive medium, lithog-

Miners At Work With Long Toms
(c. 1851). Artist unknown. Lithographed
by Justh & Quirot, San Francisco.
Published by Cooke & Le Count, San
Francisco. 10" x 7½". Letter Sheet.



MINERS AT WORK WITH LONG TOMS

*“from the place
we hear about...”*

*a descriptive checklist
of pictorial lithographs and
letter sheets in the
CHS collection*



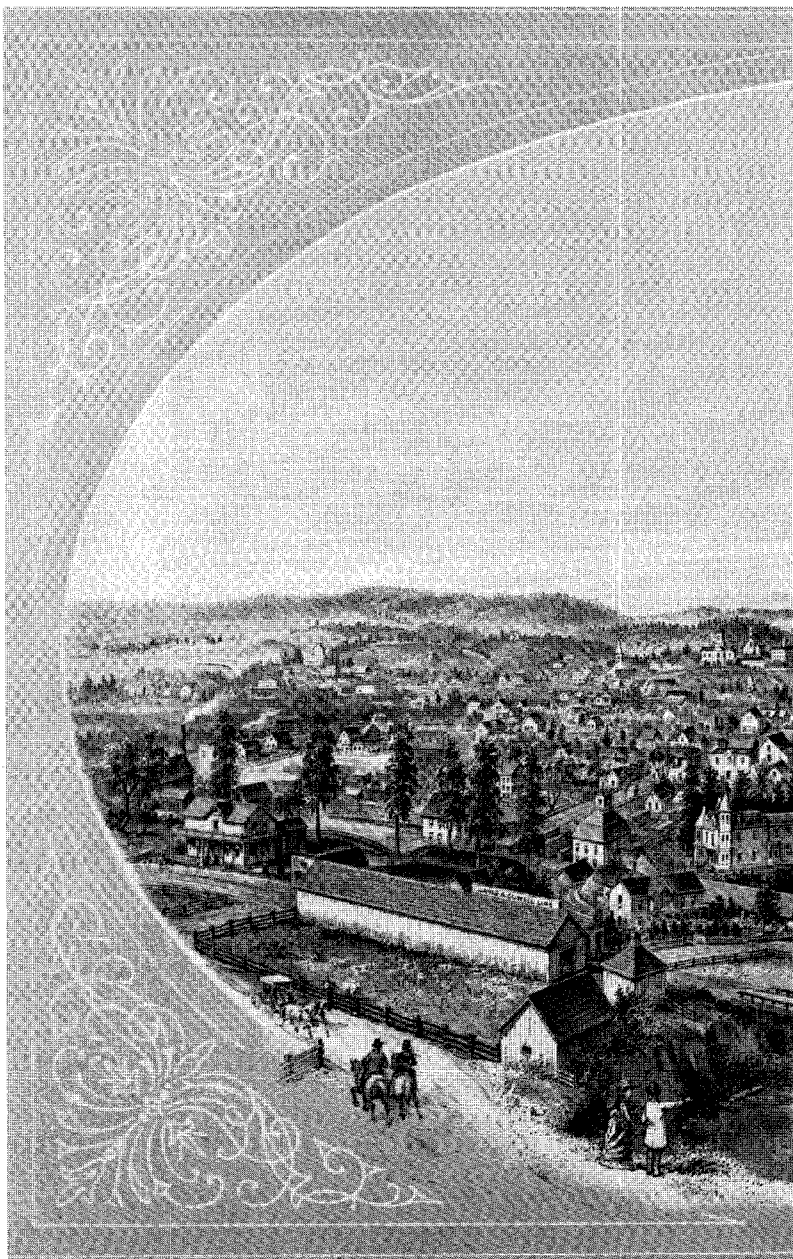
Santa Cruz, Cal. (n.d.). Artist unknown.
Lithographed and printed by Britton &
Rey, San Francisco. Published by
A. Hatch & Co., San Francisco. 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x
31 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Colored lithograph.

raphy was widely employed to produce hundreds of views of California's cities and towns, mining camps, scenic wonders, current events (with humorous and satirical comment), and genre scenes of daily life, especially in the mines. Californians interested in their state will find a variety of different kinds of information in the lithographs housed at the California Historical Society, which comprise one of the largest public collections of these fine works.¹

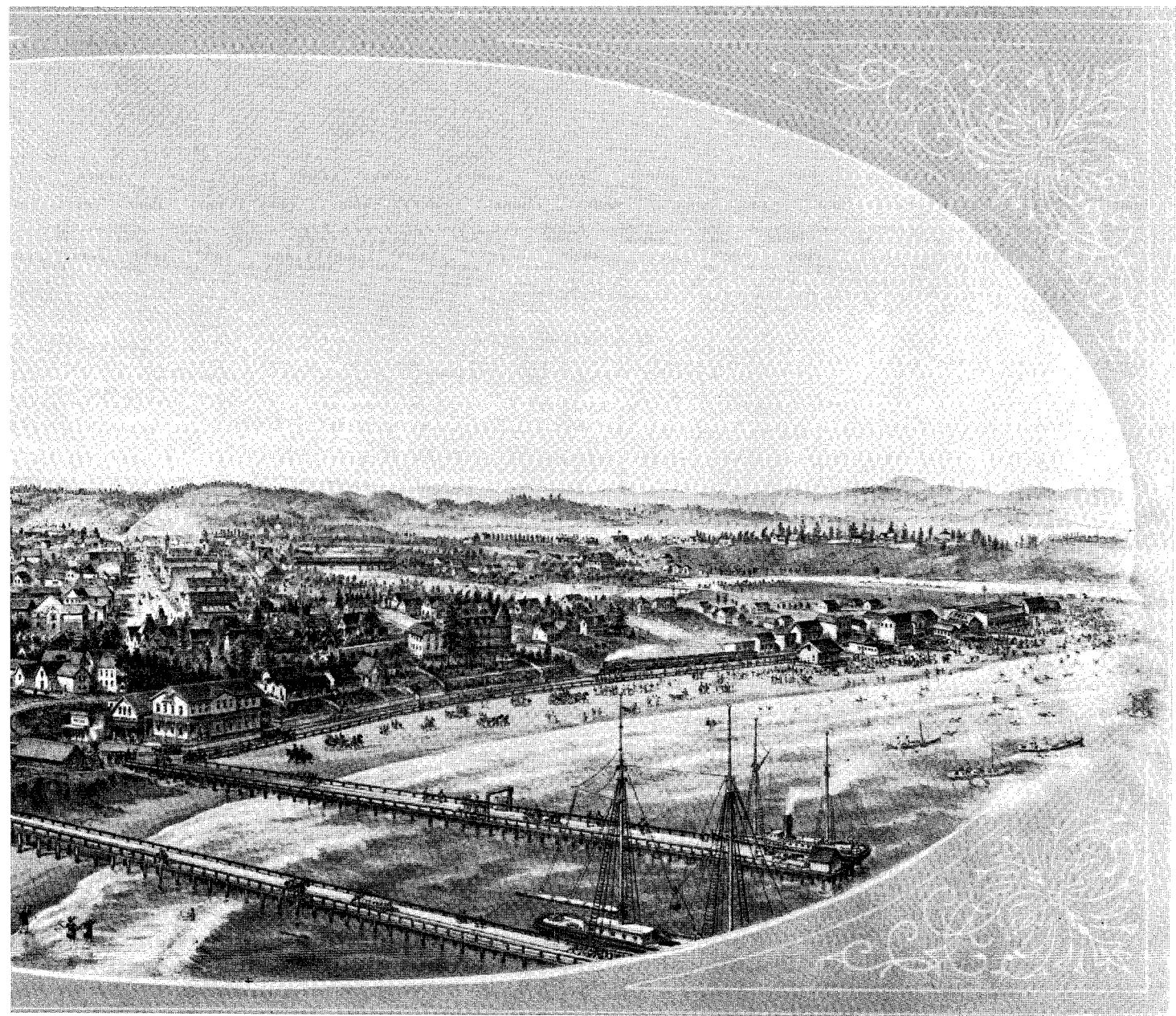
Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the primary media for the reproduction of pictorial images in multiple copies for public distribution or for book illustration had been the intaglio and relief processes of engraving, etching, and woodcut. These processes had their limitations, however, both in the speed at which copies could be produced and in the total number of good imprints that could be taken from a single plate or block. The principles of lithography were discovered in 1798, only fifty years before the California Gold Rush, by Alois Senefelder, a Bavarian playwright seeking an inexpensive method of reproducing his manuscripts. Like many useful inventions, his was accidental, but it almost immediately revolutionized the manufacture of printed materials. Lithography was not introduced into America until 1819 (via New York), but the medium soon became a popular alternative to earlier techniques because pictures could be produced cheaply and in large numbers. Its only nineteenth-century rivals were wood and steel engravings.

Victorian Americans evidenced an insatiable appetite for pictures of all kinds: portraits, pioneer scenes, political cartoons, city views, sporting events, natural disasters, parades, battles, popular literary scenes, nature, architectural renderings, and rural life were all popular subjects for decorative wall hangings and keepsakes, or for illustrations in periodicals and books. Lithography also eventually lent itself to the commercial production of items such as labels, trade cards, posters, postcards, sheet music, and certificates.

Understanding the lithographic process itself aids in



understanding the popularity of the medium. Lithography is based on the natural antipathy of oil and water. An image is drawn with a greasy crayon or ink on the smooth, porous surface of a special limestone slab (today, usually a zinc or aluminum plate). The image is chemically "fixed" with acid, and a roller covered with a viscous oil-based ink is passed over the surface of the stone. The oily ink adheres only to the greasy drawn image and is repelled by the remaining wet areas. When a sheet of paper is laid over the stone and run through a press, the image is transferred from the stone to the paper. The stone is re-inked for each additional impression, and the potential number of imprints is almost limitless. Later, when the edition had been completed, the surface of the



valuable limestone was ground down to provide a new face for another drawing. The highly-skilled printers of the San Francisco school preferred to apply colored tones, when they were deemed desirable, by use of additional stones prepared with colored inks, carefully registered for clarity. They tended to use a restricted palette of basic black with beige or light brown, gray-orange, or blue. The applications of bright watercolor washes by hand, which was popular in the East among firms such as Currier and Ives, were considered extraneous to the art of California printing.²

Separately published lithographs were issued in numbers from several hundred to a thousand or more. Precise information about the numbers within editions

and the prices for which the prints were sold is notoriously scarce due to the destructive fire of 1906 in San Francisco which consumed the business records of virtually all of California's lithograph firms. Prints published elsewhere in the United States, however, sold for between six and fifty cents on one end of the scale, and between three and five dollars on the other. The same was probably true in California.

Regardless of the original number of prints issued by California lithographers, relatively few have survived. Almost all California views, and particularly those of San Francisco, remain in numbers less than ten, and several are represented by a single copy.³ Many prints escaping the fire of 1906 were destroyed by time,

Sundry Amusements in the Mines
(n.d.). Artist unknown. Lithographed and
published by Joseph Britton & J. J. Rey,
San Francisco. Approx. 7" x 10".
Letter Sheet.

neglect, and improper handling. The few lithographs which exist in collections today owe their survival in part to the fact that they were usually printed on high-quality rag paper which offered some resistance to the damage caused by excessive exposure to light, acidic mount boards, glues, tapes, and other poor framing techniques.

Only the foresight of a small group of discriminating collectors has resulted in the preservation of the California lithographs which are now at the California Historical Society. Foremost among these individuals were C. Templeton Crocker of San Francisco, whose books and art collection formed the nucleus of the reactivated California Historical Society in the 1920's; Roger D. Lapham, Sr., president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, who donated part of his collection to CHS; Frederick Clift of the Clift Hotel in San Francisco, whose collection was purchased in 1937; and Harry T. Peters, Sr., author of *America on Stone* and *California on Stone*, whose collection of pictorial letter sheets and California prints is now on permanent loan to CHS from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.⁴ Finally, special tribute must be paid to Dr. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., both for his organization of the CHS collection and for his pioneering work in cataloguing the California pictorial letter sheets, San Francisco views, and the Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., Collection of lithographs at the Bancroft Library at the University of California. His scholarly studies are of importance to anyone interested in the art history of California or the history of lithography in America.

The Fine Art Collection at California Historical Society contains approximately 235 letter sheets and approximately 500 prints representing the work of most of California's artists, lithographers, and printers. Too numerous to list, they are outlined according to the most important subject areas and illustrated with specific examples.

Information about the production of each print is not

easily assembled. The artist whose drawing served as the basis for the lithograph may or may not be the lithographer who drew the image on the stone. The lithographer may be identical with the printer; he may also have published the print. Combinations of these roles vary, and accurately assigning full responsibility for the creation of a print is difficult. Titles are listed as they appear on the print. Further information about each print is listed when known.

I. *Letter Sheets*—Some of the most vivid, lively, humorous, and historically important images of California during the Gold Rush era are preserved in the form of pictorial letter sheets. As the name implies, letter sheets were pieces of stationery, usually about 10½ x 8½ inches when folded in half, with a lithographed vignette or a series of small pictures on the front, most often at the top. The earliest date from 1849, and they seemed to have enjoyed consistent popularity until 1869 when their production virtually ceased. They were sold for a few cents to newly arrived immigrants who could mail them home and thereby convey something of their new surroundings—"the place we hear about—" to family and friends.

In style and quality of execution, letter sheets vary widely. Some were carefully drafted renderings based on daguerreotype views or portraits, while many others were drawn in the quick, casual manner of the artist as reporter. Resourceful publishers found new material for letter sheet subjects by transferring existing wood engraved or cut illustrations to the stone. Literally thousands of these letter sheets were printed—some of them in series—by such firms as Britton & Rey, Quirot and Company, and James M. Hutchings. Hutchings claimed, for example, that he had printed and sold 97,000 copies of the well-known letter sheet, *The Miner's Ten Commandments*, between 1853 and 1854. Yet today, letter sheets, like larger lithographic prints,

SUNDRY AMUSEMENTS IN THE MINES.



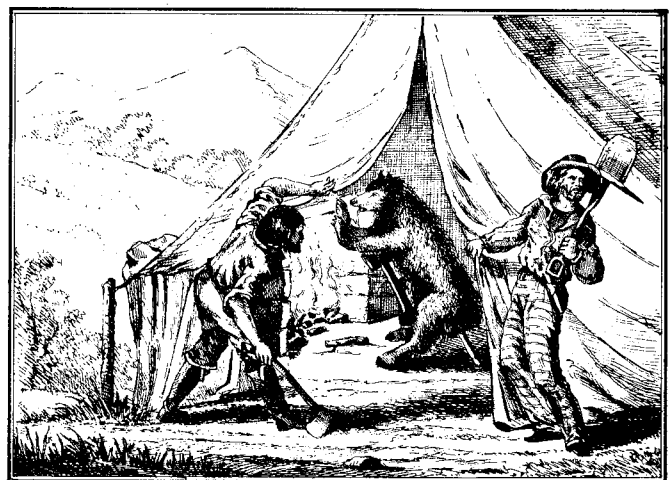
A SUNDAYS AMUSEMENTS.



A DAILY PLEASURE.



OCCUPATION FOR RAINY DAYS.



A PLEASANT SURPRISE.

are rare items, particularly those without letters inscribed upon them.

Letter sheet subjects included views of San Francisco—the ship-crowded harbor, Telegraph Hill, Yerba Buena Island—from a variety of vantage points. Others depicted sites within the city—Montgomery Street storefronts, Mission Dolores (the only mission known to be pictured in a letter sheet), the Chinese Buddhist Temple, or the Grand Plaza. Many displayed views of towns and mining camps to the north and east—Sacramento, Nevada City, Placerville, Goodyear's Bar, Scoopers Ranch, and Weaverville, to name but a few. The hardships endured and the adventures of daily life in the mining camps were, of course, another popular source of illustrations. Letter sheet titles such as *The Miner's*

Lamentation, *A Fight with a Grizzly*, *Dividing the Pile*, and *Gambling in the Mines* indicate the subject range.

Letter sheets often chronicled events while they were still "hot" and were produced within a day or two of the latest conflagration, earthquake, sinking ship, execution, Vigilance rally, parade, or festival. Some of the most charming, however, are the humorous sketches, such as *Adventures of Mr. Greenhorn on his arrival in San Francisco*—*The First Day*, *Mr. Gringo's Experience as a Ranchero*, and *A Bachelor in a Tight Place*, which made light of the travails of the Argonaut far from the comforts of home.

In his book, *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets, 1849-1869* (San Francisco: David Magee, 1967), Joseph A. Baird, Jr., has catalogued 343 letter sheets produced in



VIEW OF SACRAMENTO CITY.

AS IT APPEARED DURING THE GREAT FLOODING IN JANUARY 1880.

California and their variations. His book, which is richly illustrated with full-size reproductions, offers a full description of each sheet, including a list of the collections which hold copies. This book is recommended as a guide to the letter sheets contained in the California Historical Society collection.

II. *Urban Views*—During the rapid development of California and the American West, hundreds of newly-established towns, settlements, supply centers, and camps provided abundant subject matter for popular city views. Not only do these views possess substantial worth as historical documents, but many also represent the finest artistic output of the San Francisco school. Far from being a backwater refuge for mediocre talent, San Fran-

cisco attracted superior artists, lithographers, and printers from the very beginning. City views produced in San Francisco between 1850 and 1880 were hailed for the beauty of their draughtsmanship and the excellent quality of their printing, even by venerable eastern establishments in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Such urban views, especially those of San Francisco, comprise a significant segment of the California Historical Society's collection.

The earliest lithographic view of the area was probably the one made of the Presidio of San Francisco in 1816 by Louis Choris, a Russian explorer and artist, which was published in his *Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde* in Paris six years later. The first urban views showing the effect of the Gold Rush on the California landscape came from the presses of eastern printers and publishers. Per-

View of Sacramento City, As It
Appeared During the Great Inundation
in January 1850. Drawn by George W.
Casilear, New York, and Henry Bain-
bridge, San Francisco. Lithographed and
published by Napoleon Sarony, New
York, 1850.

haps the best-known early panorama of the new metropolis of San Francisco was one “drawn on the spot” by Henry Firks in 1849 and published by Thomas Sinclair in Philadelphia. CHS has several of the variations of this print which were slightly revised and reissued by other publishers. Charles Kuchel, later a partner in the San Francisco firm of Kuchel and Dresel, created an early *View of San Francisco, 1850*, while he worked for the prestigious Philadelphia lithographer, Peter S. Duval. This print was published by Henry Bill of New York, who issued San Francisco views regularly in his *History of the World* in 1851, 1852, 1854, 1855, and 1856, copies of which are at CHS. Likewise, in a rare print of Sacramento, the hub of the mining industry was shown “as appeared during the Great Inundation in January, 1850” by George W. Casilear and Henry Bainbridge, lithographed and published by Napoleon Sarony in New York—but not before Captain Sutter himself and Alcalde J. L. Thomas had attested to its veracity.

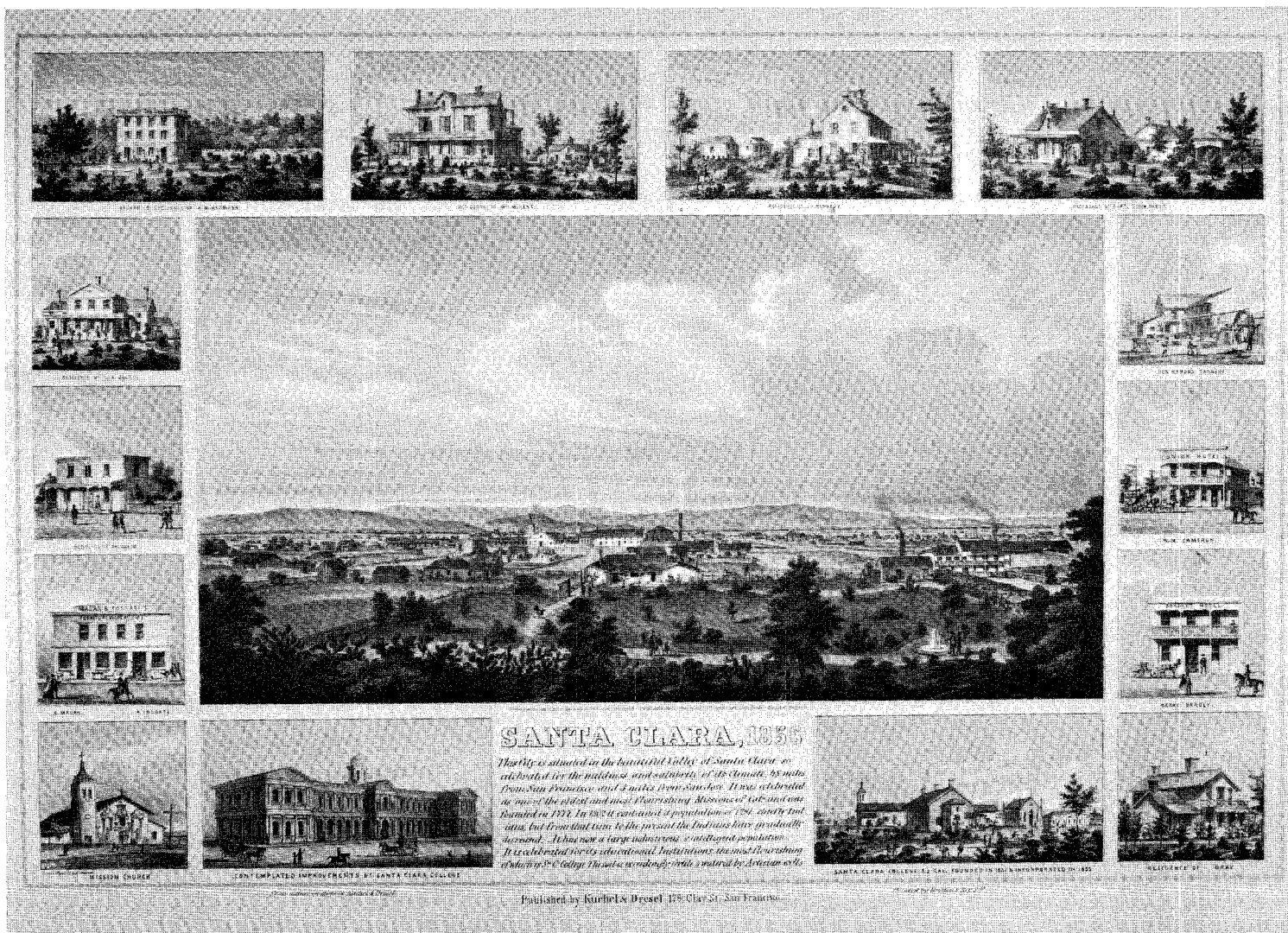
Tantalizing tales of California had already preceded these pictures, with the result that curious Americans and Europeans alike craved illustrations of the mythical El Dorado. One of the finest prints produced for foreign consumption is a luminous colored rendering of *San Francisco in 1851* by F. S. Marryat, published in London by Henry Squire. In this view, miners, merchants, Chinese, and chaste ladies wander in the quiet of morning. The rising sun glints off the Bay and bathes the dusty streets and wooden buildings with a soft warm light. One wonders whether this idealized portrayal convinced many Englishmen to set sail for California. Another striking lithograph of *San Francisco from California Street in 1855* was printed in Paris for a New York publisher. Using a daguerreotype as the model for this work, an anonymous artist created a crystal clear vista of the city with exquisite lines and minute detail, yielding an effect more often expected from the engraver’s burin than the lithographer’s crayon.

Views of San Francisco, undoubtedly the most widely

pictured city in the West, were plentiful, and there are at least fifty handsome examples (in addition to specific sites and street scenes) in the CHS collection. Interested readers should peruse *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco* by Joseph A. Baird, Jr., and Edwin C. Evans (San Francisco: Burger & Evans, 1972). This exhaustive study, a lavishly-illustrated limited edition, documents and describes over two hundred views of San Francisco. The splendid reproductions, in the original size, offer the advantage of seeing a selection of rare prints from several public and private collections within the confines of one volume.

Many urban views were termed bird’s-eye views because they were drawn as though the artist were standing on a high elevation or suspended in mid-air above the site. While the artist would not have possessed powers of levitation, it is reputed that on rare occasions captive hot-air balloons were employed to hover above ground level while the artist made his sketches. However, especially in the 1860’s and 1870’s views, the perspective in these drawings is rendered as though from distances beyond the tether of any balloon—seemingly half a mile in the air—in order to capture the scale of the developing cities. Those of us in the twentieth century who take for granted the image of the earth seen from the moon’s surface should take care to recognize that the skillful presentation of the bird’s-eye perspective was largely the result of the nineteenth century artist’s concentrated creative imagination.

Of all the firms which printed urban views, the most noteworthy is that of Britton & Rey. Joseph Britton and J. J. Rey formed a partnership in 1852 that lasted until the turn of the century. The output of their firm during those years was enormous and of consistently high quality. They were the printers of *Kuchel and Dresel’s California Views*, a series issued between 1855 and 1858. Printed in black with a beige-brown tone, these are singularly elegant, subtly shaded, superlatively drawn lithographs which evidence masterful handling of the



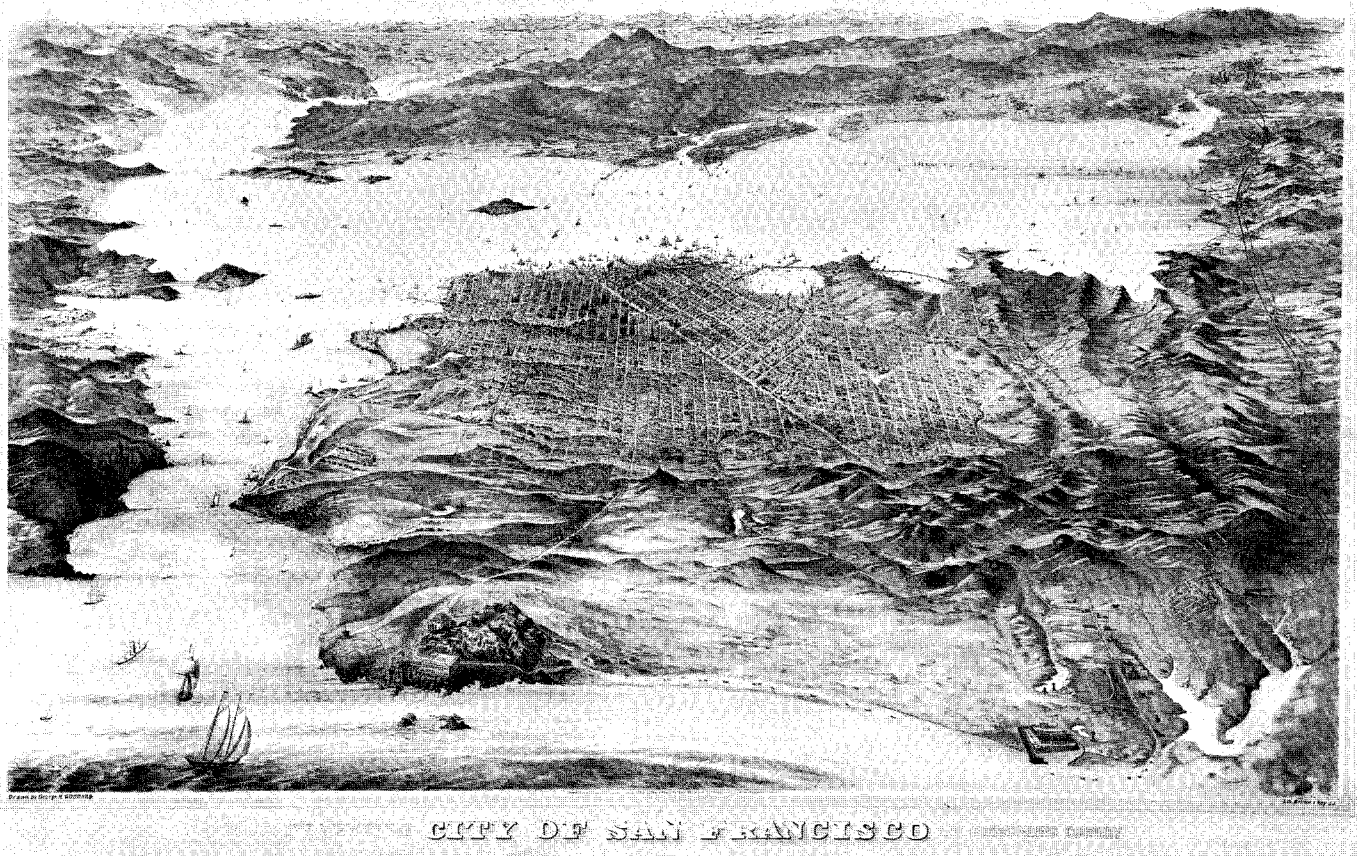
technique. Some of these prints (and many other publishers' city views during this period) display a number of small vignettes which form a border around the central image. Local businesses or town residences were usually the subjects of these tiny pictures, effective advertising offered in return for underwritten printing costs. The publisher, in these cases, was often a local merchant, usually the bookseller. Cities, towns, and camp sites from this series which are in the CHS collection are: Angel's Camp, Auburn, Coloma, Crescent City, Downieville, French Bar, Grass Valley, Jackson, Los Angeles, Marysville, Mokelumne Hill, Murphy's, Nevada (City), North San Juan, Petaluma, Placerville, St. Louis, San Jose, Santa Clara, Scotts Bar and French Bar, Shasta, Stockton, Todds Valley, Union on Humboldt Bay, Weaverville, Yankee Jims, and Yreka.

The collection also includes excellent examples of work by artists and lithographers like G. H. Goddard, Augustus Koch, George H. Baker, C. B. Gifford, and Grafton T. Brown, all working in San Francisco. Nearly thirty other cities and towns are pictured in formal city views. Some, such as Sacramento, are represented by more than one print, issued at different times by various artists and lithographers. Some of the most unusual early items include *Sacramento From the Foot of J. Street* in 1850, drawn by George Cooper on December 21, 1849, lithographed by Wm. Endicott, and published by Stringer and Townsend in New York. An interesting perspective of Stockton was drawn by William McIlvaine from Philadelphia during a trip in 1849, which he published in *Sketches of Scenery and Notes of Personal Adventure, in California and Mexico. Containing Sixteen*

Santa Clara, 1856. Drawn and published by Charles C. Kuchel & Emil Dresel, San Francisco, 1856. Printed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 24 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Colored lithograph with hand-colored center image.

Lithographic Plates (1850). Another fine early view is one of *Columbia, January 1852*, drawn by G. H. Goddard and lithographed by Pollard & Britton. The first view of Los Angeles was created in 1851 by Charles Koppel for the United States Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys published in Washington, D.C. (1855-61). The most recently published city view in the collection is an 1894 print, *San Francisco in 1848* by George H. Burgess, a chromolithograph made by H. S. Crocker & Company.

Representative subjects of other views in the collection are: *Timbuctoo, Yuba County, 1862*; *Healdsburg, 1876*; *Santa Cruz, 1876*; *Pasadena, 1879 and 1893*; *Oakland, 1881*; *Berkeley, 1890*; and *Avalon, Santa Catalina Island, c. 1890*. A brief but well-written essay on the history of lithograph views of the urban West and fifty colored plates make *Cities on Stone* by John Reps, published in 1976 by the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, an excellent reference.



Birds Eye View of the City of San Francisco and Surrounding County (1868). Drawn by George H. Goddard, *Sacramento and San Francisco*. Lithographed and printed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. Published by Snow & Roos, San Francisco. 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Colored lithograph.

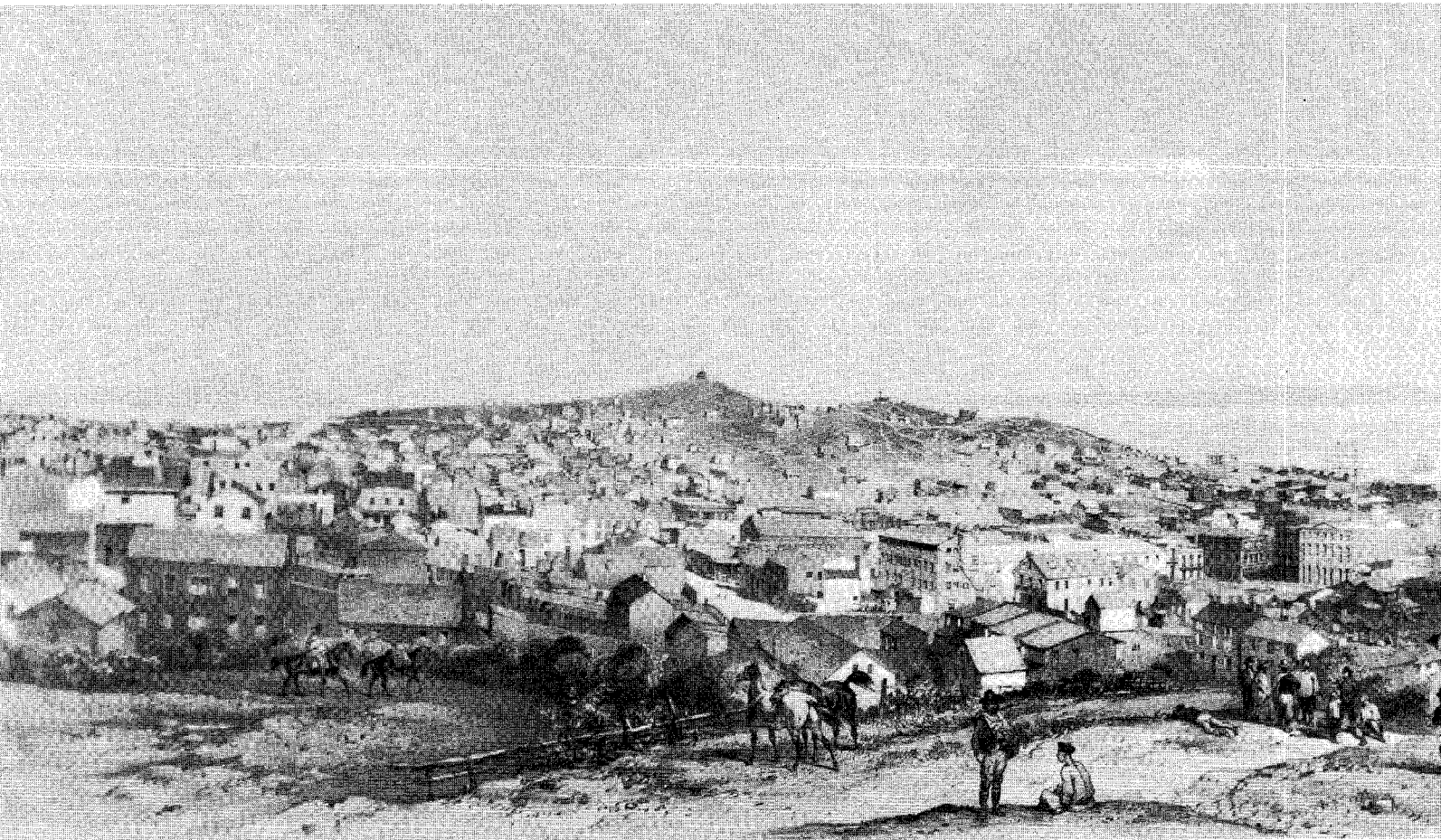
III. *California Sites of Interest*—Any locality or scene in California was likely to become the subject of the lithographer's crayon or brush. A multitude of views throughout the state were recorded on stone, and a sampling of such scenes in the CHS collection gives an indication of their range and variety. The artist of the image is listed as Del., an abbreviation of the Latin term *delineavit* meaning "one who drew it." Lithographs are in black on white unless otherwise noted. "Colored lithograph" refers to a print with at least one other color tone applied lithographically, even though the visual effect may be minimal. "Hand-colored" indicates the application of watercolor, at least in part, usually after the print was published.

Agricultural Park and Race Course. (n.d., c. 1890). There are few recorded racing scenes, according to H. T. Peters in *California on Stone*. In this large, colored print, five horses strain themselves to take the lead. They are shown with all four feet off the ground in the traditional manner, before Muybridge's photographs were widely seen.

The California Powder Works, Santa Cruz County, Cal. (n.d., c. 1875). Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). Colored lithograph.

Eggers Vineyard, 5 Miles N.E. of Fresno, Cal. (n.d., c. 1880). Thompson & West, Oakland (Lith.). Originally published in a county history of Fresno.

Fishermans Bay. (n.d.). A. B. Woodward (Del.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). A depiction of lumber chutes suspended from a rocky point to schooners anchored off shore.



(Below) San Francisco. From California Street, Drawn from a Daguerreotype, The Property of Eug. Delessert Esq^{re} (1855). Artist Unknown. Printed by Lemercier, Paris. Published by M. Knoedler, New York. 11" x 34".

Fort Yuma. Colorado Rivr. Cala. (n.d., after 1862). Geo. H. Baker, S.F. (Lith.). A party of emigrants is crossing the Colorado River in a crude ferry. They have brought with them a cannon, probably used in the Civil War. On the far bank stands an old Spanish prison. Hand-colored.

The Grand Plaza, San Francisco. (1850). Moody (Del.), B. F. Butler, S.F. (Lith.), Atwill & Co., S.F. (Pub.). The main square of San Francisco, also known as Portsmouth Square. Both Butler's and Atwill's signs are legible on the side of one building. Colored lithograph.

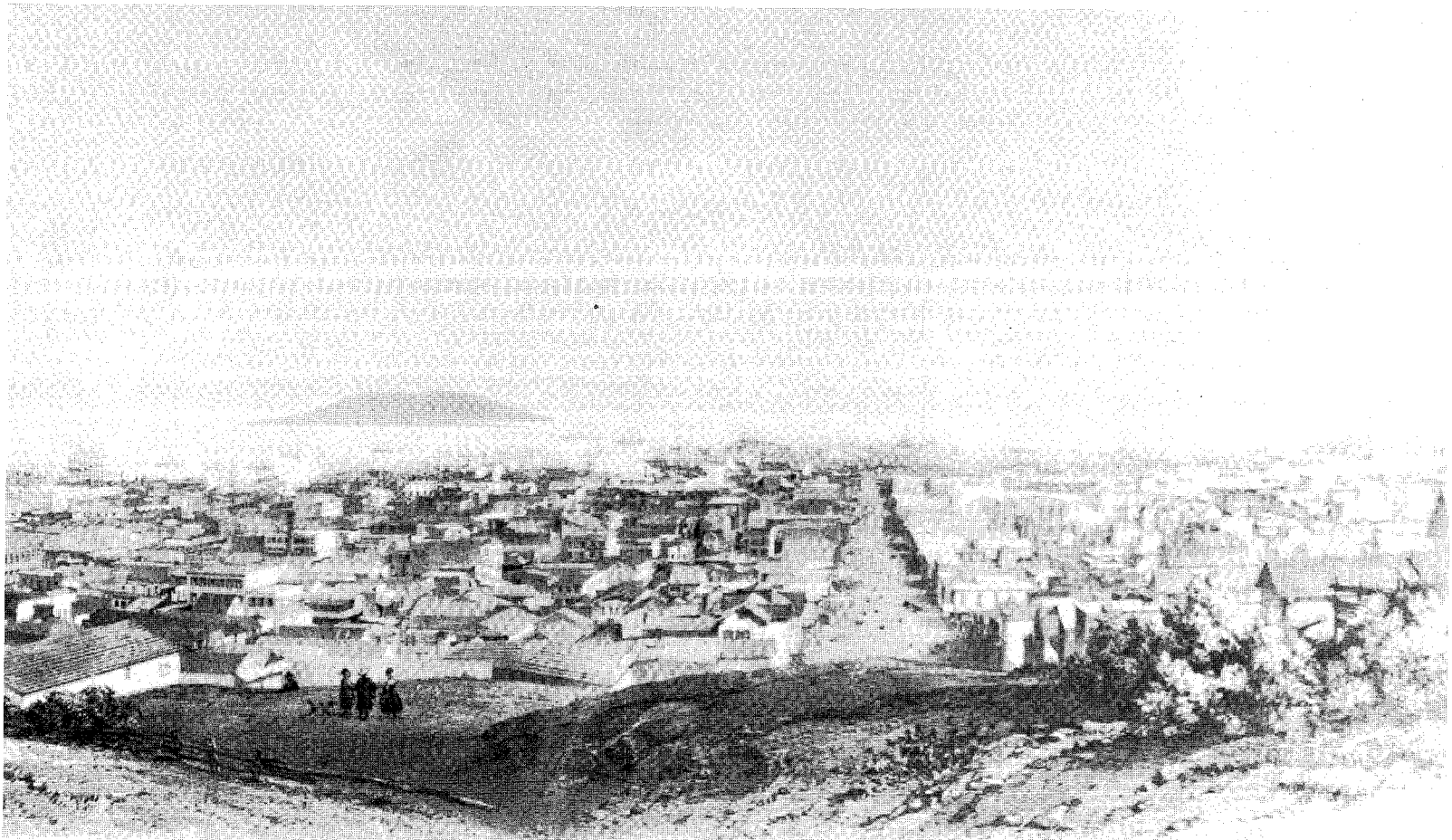
Post Office, San Francisco, California. (n.d., c. 1850). H. F. Cox (Del.), Wm. Endicott & Co., N.Y. (Lith.). "A Faithful Representation of the Crowds Daily Applying at that Office for Letters and Newspapers." Colored lithograph.

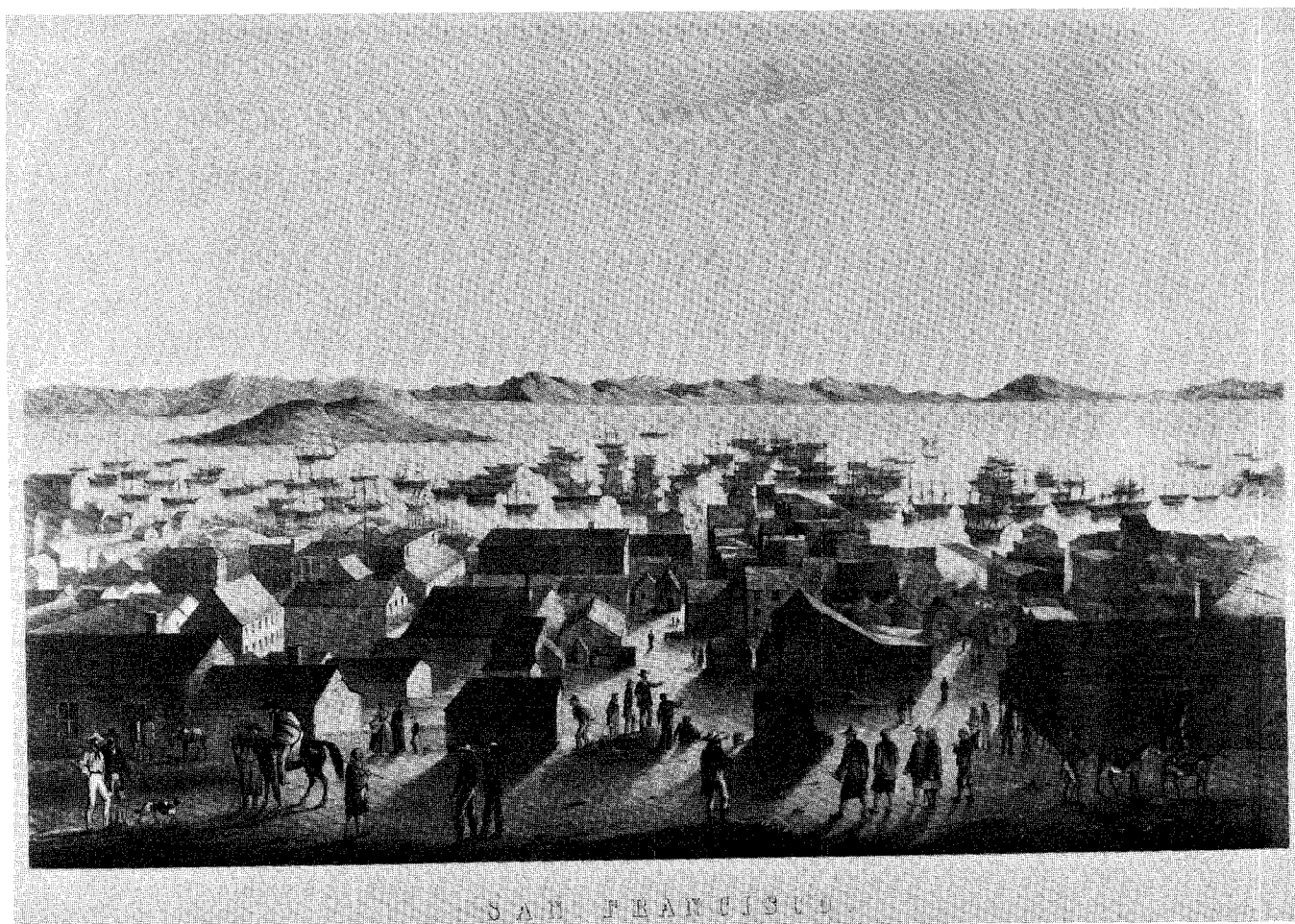
Lachryma Montis, Residence of Gen. M. G. Vallejo, near Sonoma, California. (n.d.). S. W. Shaw (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). Signed in pencil: "With Compliments, M. G. Vallejo." Colored lithograph.

Shasta Butte & Shasta Valley, Siskiyou County, Cal. (n.d., c. 1860). E. Camerer, S.F. (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.). Hand-colored.

Sutter's Fort, Sacramento, Cal. 1847. (n.d., c. 1860). Britton & Co., S.F. (Lith.). A sign for "S. Brannan & Co." is visible at the right. There is also a large version of the same subject in the CHS collection which was published by Snyder & Black, N.Y., c. 1853. Colored lithograph.

U.S. Navy-Yard Mare Island, and City of Vallejo. (n.d.). C. B. Gifford, S.F. (Del. & Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.). One of a





number of S.F. views which C. B. Gifford drew for Louis Nagel to print. Others at CHS include: *Lombard, North Point, & Greenwich Docks, Lone Mountain Cemetery, and Hayes Valley, 1862*. Colored lithograph.

View of Ham's Mammoth Aqueduct. (1852). R. E. Ogilby, S.F. (Del. & Pub.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). View of a large flume across a deep gorge.

Views of the New Ditch, of the Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Co. (n.d., c. 1858). F. Holtmann, Columbia, Cal. (Del. & Pub.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.). Six views of a wooden flume winding through the hills.

Webber Lake Hotel, Sierra Co., Cal. (n.d., c. 1872-75). G. T. Brown & Co., S.F. (Del. & Lith.). Colored lithograph.

The Wonderful Calistoga Hot Sulphur Springs, Napa Co. Cal. (n.d.). Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). "This favorite Watering place is situated at the terminus of the California-Pacific Railroad—Three and one half hours travel from San Francisco. . . ." Colored lithograph.

IV. *Portraits*—Famous (or infamous) personages as well as places were drawn on stone and distributed to people desiring a likeness of an admired Californian. Some of the faces appearing in the CHS collection include:

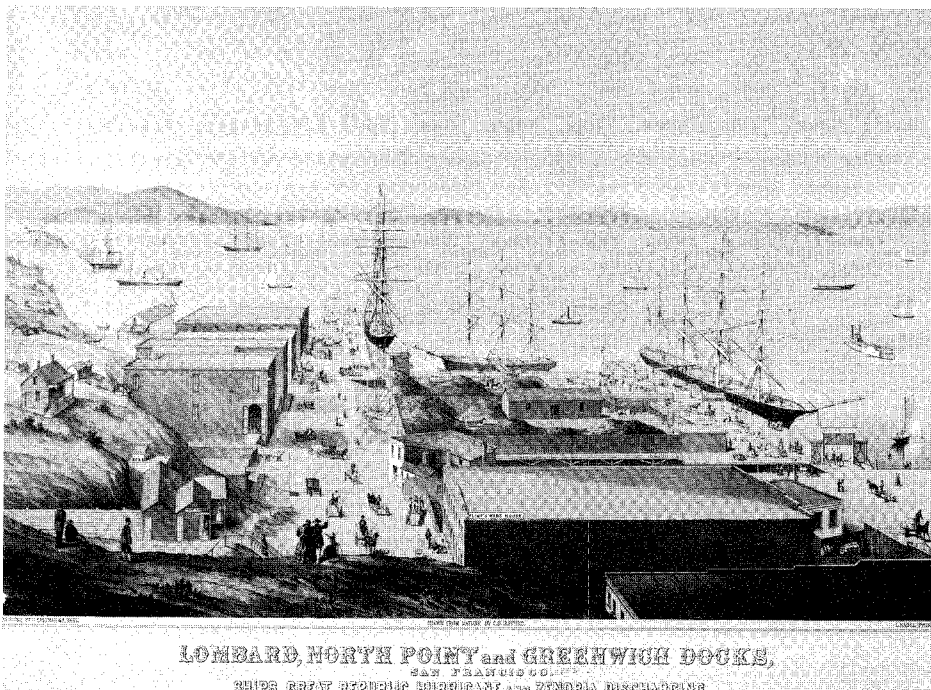
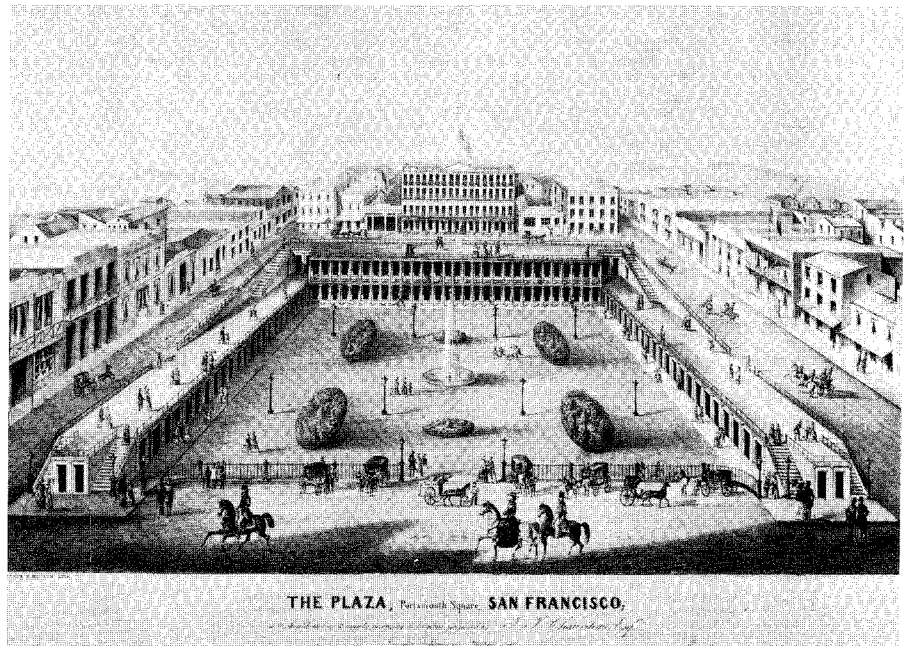
John C. Fremont. (1850). Brady, D'Avignon & Co., N.Y. A very handsome portrait, probably taken from a daguerreotype.

[*Denis Kearney*] *President Workingmen's Party, California. (1878).* Carl Browne (Del. & Pub.). With vignettes of Kearney's arrest and trial, and the party slogan, "The Chinese Must Go!"

Th[omas] Starr King. (1861). Hoffman & Schultz (Lith.), C. H. Brainard, Boston (Pub.). "From a daguerreotype by Whipple." King was an early Unitarian minister in San Francisco and a brilliant orator.

Guay Min—The Chinese Reformer. (n.d., c. 1885), W. J. Morgan & Co., Cleveland (Lith.). Colored lithograph with attached bill, "What Shall We do with the Chinese? Platt's Hall, S.F."

San Francisco (1851). Drawn by
F. S. Marryat, London. Lithographed &
Printed by M. & N. Hanhart, London.
Published by Henry Squire & Company,
London. 185 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 253 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Colored lithograph.



The Plaza, Portsmouth Square, San Francisco; As It Should and As It May Be, According to the Plan Proposed by J. J. Chauviteau, Esq^{re} (1852). Artist Unknown. Lithograph by Gihon & Butler, San Francisco. 153 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 187 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Colored lithograph.

Lombard, North Point and Greenwich Docks, San Francisco. Ships Great Republic, Hurricane and Zenobia Discharging (n.d.). Drawn by Charles B. Gifford, San Francisco, Lithograph by Harrison Eastman and Arthur Nahl, San Francisco. Printed by Louis Nagel, San Francisco. 255 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 335 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Colored lithograph.

Lola Montès, Comtesse de Landsfeld. (1857). C. H. Vogt, Paris (Del.), Thierry Bros., Paris (Lith. & Print.). A lovely colored lithograph with some added watercolor tints showing San Francisco's favorite actress and dancer, Maria Dolores Eliza Rosanna Gilbert.

In Memory of Wm. C. Ralston. (1875). Korbel & Bros., S.F. (Lith. & Print.). From the *San Francisco News Letter* following Ralston's death. His portrait is surrounded by vignettes of Ralston's banks and businesses.

John A. Sutter, Major-General of the State of California. (1855). Charles Fenderich (Del. & Lith.). A fine three-quarter view of Sutter, probably from a daguerreotype, showing Sutter's Mill at Coloma, 1848, in the background.

V. *The Gold Rush, Miners, Mining Life*—Undoubtedly the segment of California history which has persistently held interest for the most people is the Gold Rush. The images which have come down to us are as rich and varied as the era itself. It is interesting that many of these lithographs are humorous sketches or caricatures which satirize the reckless enthusiasm and high hopes of the immigrant gold seeker. Others present a romantic, idealized vision of California as a tropical paradise.

A California Gold Hunter Meeting a Settler. (n.d., c. 1849). R. H. Elton, N.Y. (Lith.), Serrell & Perkins, N.Y. (Pub.). The "settler" is a menacing cougar. Hand-colored.

A Charming Girl of New-York, in the Gold Region. (n.d., c. 1850). One of a pair of prints at CHS. A delicate young woman under a parasol exhorts her beau to dig a little faster.

A Gold Hunter On His Way To California, Via St. Louis. (n.d., c. 1849). H. R. Robinson, N.Y. (Pub.). With an iron pot on his head, armed with a shovel, teapot, gold scale, pick-ax, sausage, and fish, this well-heeled gold hunter sets out on foot for California. One of several variations on this theme which were issued by other firms. Hand-colored.

Californie. (1850). A. Judels, Amsterdam (Pub.). A series of four prints. Dutch colonists panning for gold along the banks of the Sacramento and Feather rivers. Hand-colored.

California Gold. (n.d., c. 1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Lith. & Pub.). "An accurate drawing of the famous hill of gold, which has been put into a scow by the owner, and attached to a sperm whale who is now engaged in towing it around the Horn for New York." Hand-colored.

California Gold Diggers. Mining Operations on the Western Shore of the Sacramento River. (n.d., c. 1850). D. Needham, Buffalo (Del.), Kelloggs & Comstock, Hartford (Print.). Probably lifted from a similar print by N. Currier. Hand-colored.

From the Place We Hear About. (n.d., c. 1850). Serrell & Perkins, N.Y. (Lith. & Pub.). A rag-tag assemblage of immigrant gold hunters waiting to catch a ship in Panama.

Gold! Gold! Gold! Mr. Hexikiah Jerolomans Departure for California. (n.d., c. 1850). L. Nagel, N.Y. (Lith.), R. H. Elton, N.Y. (Pub.). A portly merchant on the docks surrounded by his wares: preserved pork and beans, jack-knives, Jews' harps, letter paper, valentines, gingerbread, waterproof boots, etc. This is one man who does not intend to bother with hard work in the mines.

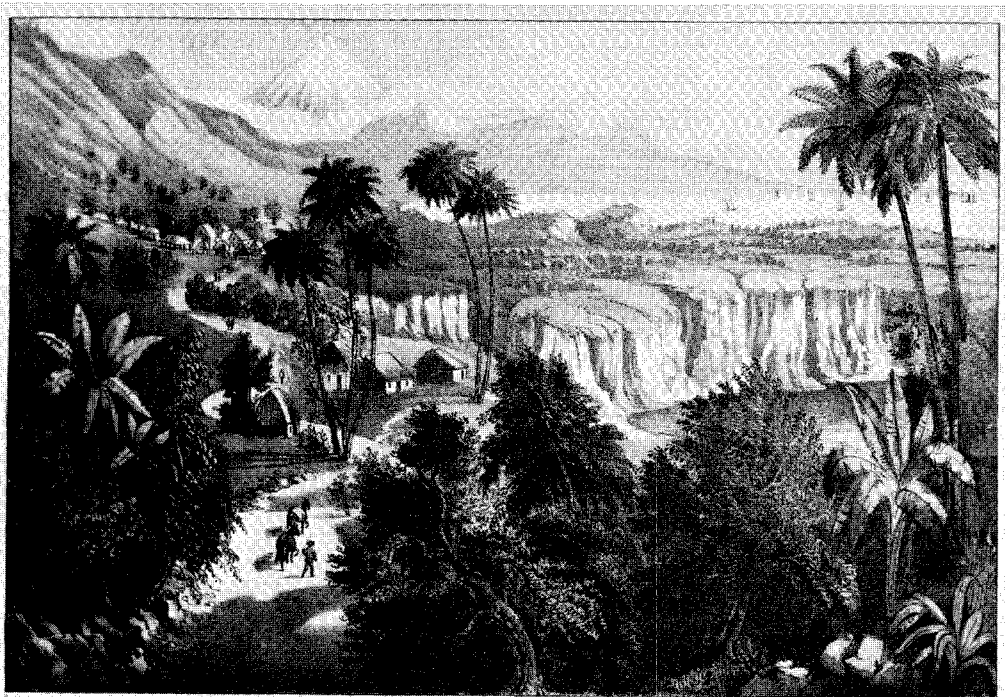
Mining on the Comstock. (1877). T. L. Dawes (Del.), Le Count Bros., S.F. (Lith.), J. B. Marshall, Gold Hill, Nevada (Pub.). Vignettes of mining techniques, buildings, and equipment surround a schematic "cutaway" view of a silver mine.

On the Coast of California. (n.d., c. 1877). Currier & Ives, N.Y. (Print.). One of the best prints showing California as a tropical "paradise," with banana trees, palm trees, and thatched huts in the background. Hand-colored.

The Way They Go to California. (1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Pub.). Over-eager gold-seekers trying to board a departing ship. A figure straddling a rocket device soars overhead. Like the two prints which follow, this print was one of an early series of six cartoons by Currier. They are full of active figures and wry comment. Hand-colored.

The Way They Wait for "The Steamer" at Panama. (1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Pub.).

The Way They Come from California. (1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Pub.). Hand-colored.



On the Coast of California (n.d.). Artist unknown. Published by Currier & Ives, New York. $9\frac{1}{8}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}''$. Hand-colored.

A Charming Girl of New-York, in the Gold Region (n.d., c.1850). $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12\frac{5}{8}''$. "Dig, Dig dear John, you must know that a little hole in the Gold region Cost a great-deal more than a large one in New-York...."

A CHARMING GIRL OF NEW-YORK, — IN THE GOLD REGION.



I am almost exhausted my dear Mary. I cannot do any more. Truly it is too much work for such a miserable little hole!!!

Dig, Dig dear John, you must know that a little hole in the Gold region Cost a greatdeal more than a large one in New-York. go a head, John dig on.

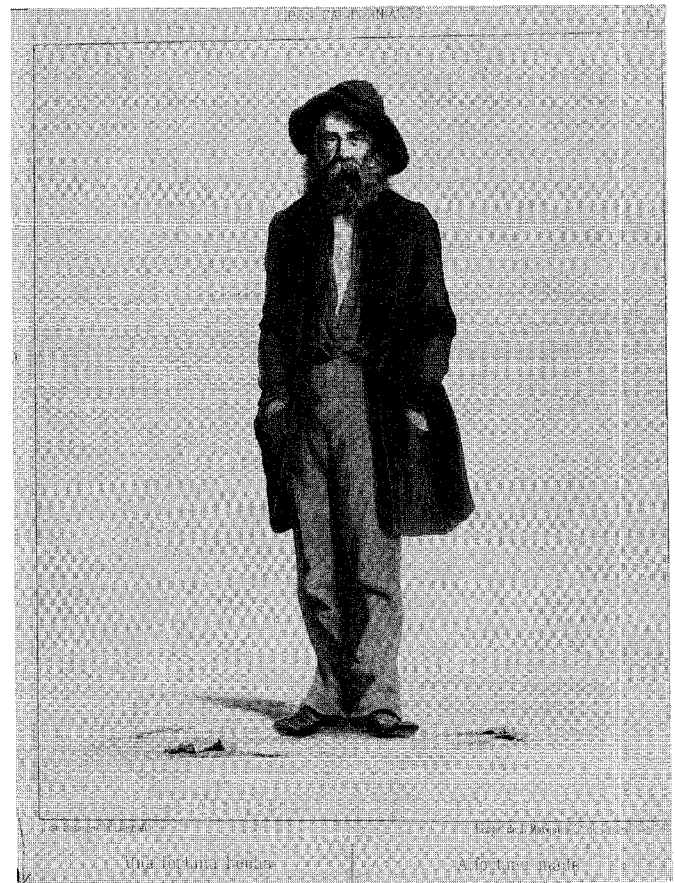
VI. *Miscellaneous Cartoons and Political Satire*—Of particular note in this category are nine cartoons from the 1860's, mostly political satire directed at San Francisco personalities, by the S. F. caricaturist Edward Jump; and ten colored lithographs from a series entitled *Tipos Californianos*, genre sketches of early California archetypes, done by L. Marquier of Havana, Cuba, published in the 1850's.

VII. *Events, Celebrations, Parades, Gatherings*—California's artist-lithographers often memorialized transitory events, such as parades and festivals, in the form of

souvenir prints. On occasion these would form the center fold-out of one of the local papers, and could be removed and used as decoration.

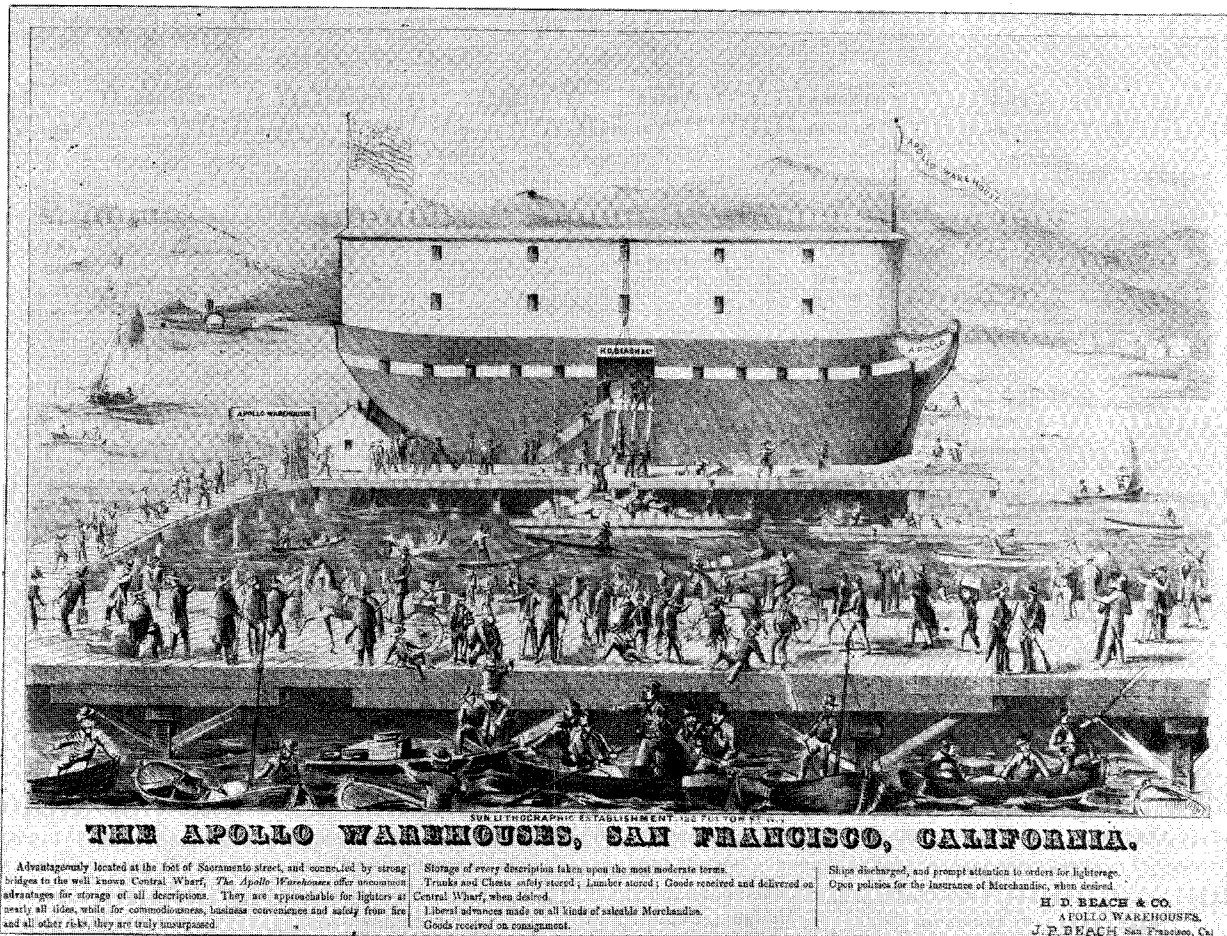
Chart of the Great Earthquake of October 21st, 1868, in and around San Francisco. (1868). R. J. Trumbull & Co. (Pub.). Includes twelve vignettes showing ruins in San Francisco, San Leandro, Hayward, and Alameda County, with descriptive text.

Fourth German May Festival, Weaverville, Trinity Co., Cal. (1860). From an "ambrotype taken by C. H. P. Norcross." C. C. Kuchel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Co. S.F. (Print.), Charles Schultz (Pub.). Beautifully hand-colored lithograph.



Tipos Californianos (n.d., c.1850's). A Protector of Arts (left). Drawn by Augusto Ferran. A Fortune Made (right). Drawn by José Baturone. Published by L. Marquier, Havana, Cuba. $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. Hand-colored.

The Apollo Warehouses, San Francisco, California (c.1850). Artist unknown. Published by Sun Lithographic Establishment, New York. 10 7/8" x 14 1/2". Colored lithograph.



Funeral Procession of Henry Clay. Born April 12, 1777: Died June 29, 1852. Aged 75 Years. (1852). B. F. Butler, S.F. (Pub.).

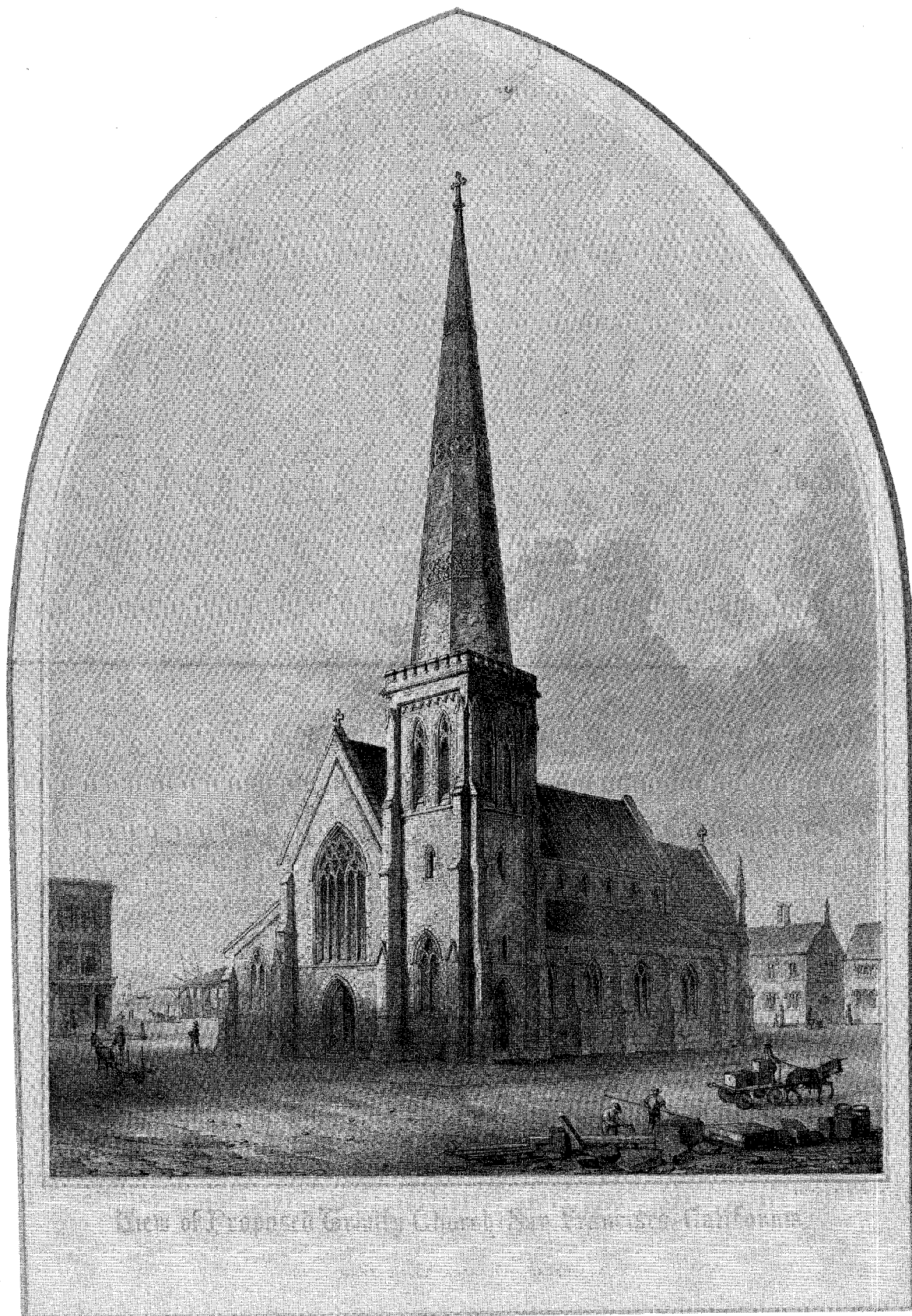
The Late Collision between the Trains of the Western Pacific and S.F. & Alameda Railroad Cos, near Simpsons Station, Sunday, Nov. 14th 1869. G. T. Brown (Del. & Lith.). An "Illustrated Postscript to the S.F. News Letter. From a sketch made on the spot one hour after the collision."

Grand Parade of the 20th National Encampment G.A.R. San Francisco, Cal., August 3, 1868. "R. Marcuse, Proprietor; Jos. A. Hoffman, Agent. Souvenir, G.A.R." Colored lithograph.

VIII. *Architecture*—Many architectural renderings were beautiful works of art although they were often produced to serve as advertising for the proprietor of the business located in the building.

The Apollo Warehouses, San Francisco, California. (c. 1850). Sun Lithographic Establishment, N.Y. (Pub.). The ship *Apollo* was sent around the Horn from New York in 1849 to San Francisco. There it was beached and converted into a store, restaurant, and warehouse. This is one of two known prints issued by this firm. Colored lithograph.

Cosmopolitan Hotel. (n.d., c. 1864). Otto Knirsch, Chicago



View of Proposed Trinity Church, San Francisco, California (n.d., c.1865). Probably drawn by Frank Wills, Architect. Lithographed by C. W. Burton. Printed by Francis Michelin, New York. 12 7/8" x 9". Colored lithograph.

(Lith.). This print was probably issued in 1864 when the newly refurbished Adelphi Hotel opened to the public as the Cosmopolitan at Bush and Sansome streets in San Francisco. Colored lithograph.

Hotel Del Monte, Monterey, Cal. (n.d.). Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). Published by the San Francisco *News Letter*. "The Leading Seaside Resort of the Pacific Coast" and a grand example of the Eastlake style of architecture. Colored lithograph.

Interior of Tobin & Duncan's Chinese Sales Room, Cor. of Sacramento & Leidsdorf Streets, San Francisco, Cal. (1853). B. F. Butler, S.F. (Lith.). A large group of people peruse silks, brocades, carved figurines and other imported oriental treasures.

International Hotel, Jackson Street. Bet. Montgomery & Kearney Sts., San Francisco, Cal. (n.d., c. 1855). C. C. Kuchel, S.F. (Del.), B. F. Butler, S.F. (Lith.). The International Hotel was rebuilt after the 1906 fire and is presently the focus of a bitter dispute over housing rights for the elderly. Colored lithograph.

Lick House. (n.d., c. 1863). C. C. Kuchel, S.F. (Del. & Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). W. K. Prior, Importer of Gas Fixtures, S.F. (Pub.). Built by two immigrant architects, David Farquharson from England and Henry Kenitzer of Germany, the Lick House (a commercial building) epitomized the "English Roman" style of architecture in San Francisco. Hand-colored.

Pacific Fire Co. No. 8, S.F. (n.d., c. 1854). Victor Hoffman, Architect (Del. & Pub.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). Firefighters respond to a call with a hand-drawn engine in foreground. Sixteen small vignettes of firehouses around the central image. Colored lithograph.

Pavilion, for First Industrial Exhibition of the Mechanics' Institute of the City of San Francisco, Cal. (1857). Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). Colored lithograph.

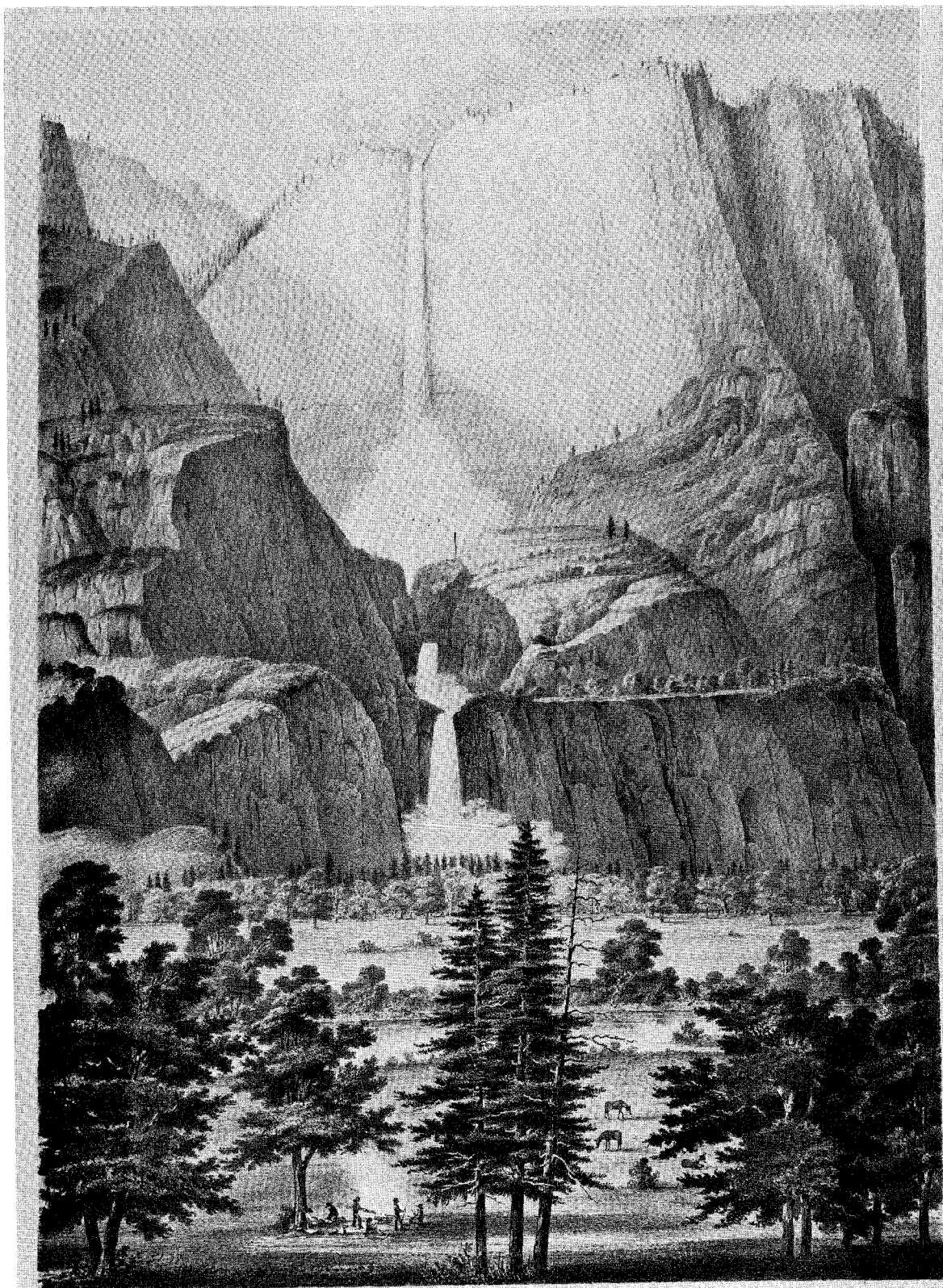
St. Francis Hook & Ladder Co. No. 1. (1855). J. F. Meyer, Architect (Del.?), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.), W. Mooser (Pub.). Colored lithograph.

Taber's Photographic Parlor, S.F., Cal. (1883). I. W. Taber, one of San Francisco's noted nineteenth century photographers, was responsible for multitudes of views of the city. This small print, an interior of his studio, was used as a book illustration.

Underwriters Fire Patrol. (1871). Bosqui Eng. & Print. Co. (Print.). This splendid full-color print shows two horse-drawn fire engines in the foreground. The U.S. Mint in San Francisco, a bastion of strength and symbol of power, is just behind.

View of Proposed Trinity Church. San Francisco, California. (n.d., c. 1865). Frank Wills, Architect (Del.?), C. W. Burton (Lith.), Francis Michelin, N.Y. (Print.). A fine rendering of a proposed building which was eventually built on Union Square (at Post and Powell streets) in San Francisco.

IX. *Scenery and Natural Wonders*—California has always been as famous for its magnificent scenery as it has been for its mineral wealth. Yosemite Valley and its landmarks were the most often pictured, but Lake Tahoe and the Pacific coastline also earned the admiration of artists and lithographers. Also, individual members of California's flora and fauna were described in lithographs. Some of these which are not listed here in detail include: *Vischer's Views of California* (1862), Edward Vischer, S. F. (Del. & Pub.), C. C. Kuchel, S. F. (Lith.), L. Nagel, S. F. (Print.). Thirteen plates with a total of twenty-five views, issued as a portfolio, of the Mammoth Tree Grove in Calaveras County; and miscellaneous loose prints from the United States Pacific Railroad Explorations & Surveys, published by the U.S. government in Washington, D.C. during the late 1850's. The pictures, which are by a number of artists, are veristic, often highly-colored prints of trees, flowers, and birds. The surveys also included many illustrations showing the topography of the proposed railroad routes as well as the more specific details of the plant and animal life. The California Historical Society owns two bound volumes of the immense survey.



THE YOSEMITE FALLS,

THIS MAGNIFICENT SCENE IS SITUATED IN THE YOSEMITE VALLEY, NEAR THE SOURCE OF THE MIDDLE FORK OF THE RIVER MERCEDES, MARIPOSA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA.
 IS THE DEEPEST WATERFALL IN THE WORLD, RUSHING OVER THE PRELUDE OF ONE BOLD LEAP IT FALLS 1300 FEET & THE WHOLE HEIGHT FROM VALLEY IS 1300 FEET.

The Yo-Hamite Falls (1855). Drawn by T. A. Ayres. Lithographed by Kuchel & Dresel, San Francisco. Printed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. Published by James M. Hutchings & A. Rosenfield, San Francisco. 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ ".

Lake Tahoe & Western Summit from Zephyr Cove. (n.d.). Geo. H. Baker, S.F. (Lith.). The calm peace of this view is not disturbed by a few people in a small boat in the foreground; it makes an interesting comparison with what the lake looks like today, after years of misuse and wanton destruction of the local ecology. Colored lithograph.

General View of the Great Yosemite Valley. (1859). Nahl Bros., S.F. (Del. & Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.), Hutchings & Rosenfield, S.F. (Pub.). A realistic view from nearby heights by Arthur and Charles Nahl.

The Mammoth Tree Grove, Calaveras County, California. (1855). T. A. Ayres, S.F. (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). "General view of the hotel and surrounding forest." Hand-colored.

Scenes on the Pacific Coast. (1880). "From original sketches and photos by G. F. Keller." Published by the San Francisco *Wasp*. Forty different vignettes arranged in a montage: Point Reyes Lighthouse, Alcatraz, Golden Gate Park, Mission San Diego, The Geysers, Cathedral Spires, Virginia City, Truckee River, and whalers are among these, constituting a broad definition of the Pacific coast. Colored lithograph.

The Yo-Hamite Falls. (1855). T. A. Ayres, S.F. (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.), Hutchings & Rosenfield, S.F. (Pub.). Colored lithograph.

Yosemite Valley—California. "The Bridal Veil" Falls. (1866). Currier & Ives, N.Y. (Pub.). An attractive, if somewhat imaginary, view showing Indians in canoes and teepees in the foreground. Hand-colored.

Views on the South Pacific Coast Railroad, and Views on the North Pacific Coast Railroad. (c.1882). Published by the San Francisco *Wasp* as Christmas issue foldouts. A pair of prints, both different and featuring the following sites: Russian River Station; San Rafael; Green Gulch Bridge; Tomales Creek; Taylorsville; Duncan Mills; California Powder Works; Santa Cruz; Big Tree Grove, Felton; Vine Hill from Magnetic Springs; and the Natural Bridge, Santa Cruz. Colored lithographs.

The California Historical Society's collection of pictorial letter sheets and lithographs constitute a rare public resource which is made available to scholars and students, researchers and publishers, or anyone who is seriously interested in California's art and history. The staff continues to research and document each print and to enlarge the collection through the addition of new material. Contributions, either of lithographs or of funds for ongoing conservation and restoration of these fragile works, are encouraged and welcomed. Such contributions will help insure that the CHS collection will continue to be an important and fruitful source of information about California's past.

Bibliography

- Baird, Joseph A., Jr., *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets: 1849-1869* (San Francisco: David Magee, 1967).
———, and Evans, Edwin C., *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Burger & Evans, 1972).
Eichenberg, Fritz, *The Art of the Print* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976).
Marzio, Peter C., "Lithography as a Democratic Art: A Re-appraisal," in *Leonardo*, 4:37-48 (Pergamon Press, 1971).
Peters, Harry T., Sr., *America on Stone* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, & Co., 1931).
———, *California on Stone* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, & Co., 1935).
Reps, John W., *Cities on Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1976).

Notes

1. The only other large public collections of California lithographs are located at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the Society of California Pioneers in San Francisco.
2. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., and Edwin C. Evans, *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Burger & Evans, 1972), p. 12.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 18; footnote 36.

Ms. Hoover and Mr. Sawchuck are Curators of Exhibitions and Collections at the California Historical Society.

Book Reviews

Travels in Southern California

By John Xántus. Translated and edited by Theodore Schoenman and Helen Benedek Schoenman. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976. 212 pp. Illustrations, index. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by Henry Miller Madden, *University Librarian, California State University, Fresno.*

In 1857 a bright and ambitious young refugee from Hungary, an enlisted man in the United States Army, was stationed at Fort Tejon, California. His name was János Xántus, and he was awaiting the publication, in his homeland, of his first book. When *Levelei Éjszakamerikából* (*Letters from North America*) was published in 1858, it was so well received that Xántus produced a second book, *Utazás Kalifornia déli részeiben* (*Travel in the Southern Parts of California*), which eventually was published in Pest in 1860.

While this crafting of books was going on, Xántus was busy collecting in many fields of natural history at Fort Tejon and at Cape San Lucas in Lower California. These collections were among the most important ever made in North America and have deservedly preserved Xántus' name and reputation in the history of scientific exploration.

In 1936 a bright and ambitious young graduate student from California was enrolled in Columbia University. He is the undersigned. He was eager to work on a biography of Xántus, which he did in New York, Budapest, Palo Alto, Washington, and Linz, Austria. Thirteen years after the work was begun, the biography was published. It was in 1949, then, that the world of scholarship first learned that the distinguished naturalist was also an accomplished plagiarist. A large part of *Letters* and almost all of *Travel* are direct and unacknowledged translations from the reports, published as congressional documents, made by prominent military explorers of the West, such as Marcy, Emory, and Abert.

In 1975 the young graduate student, by now young only in spirit, learned to his amazement that a university press was about to publish a translation of Xántus' first "book" and was to follow this with the second. It is the latter which is the subject of this review.

If the translators, editors, and publishers were not aware that they were issuing a worthless plagiarism, they could be forgiven. But both translations refer specifically to this

author's biography of Xántus; the latter devotes thirty-nine pages to Xántus as an author, including seven pages listing in detail the sources from which *Travel* was plagiarized. In forty years of librarianship and teaching I have never known another instance of a verified plagiarism being translated back into the language from which it was stolen. Now we have an instance of it, and from a university press!

If one wishes a uniquely painful experience, one may, in this book which purports to deal with Southern and Lower California, read Abert's *Report . . . of His Examination of New Mexico, in the Years 1846-'47*, Letterman's *Sketch of the Navajo Tribe*, and Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth . . . to San Diego . . . in 1846-47*, in an English version of a Hungarian translation. One will find that Acoma pueblo was transferred to Lower California and that the Tejon vocabulary is identical with Navajo.

The book *Travels in Southern California* represents as Xántus' what the translators and publishers know is not his and omits any warning that it has nothing to do with California. The text will puzzle the uninformed reader who tries to locate a 140-foot waterfall within a few hours' walk of Olvera Street, or a 13,000-foot pass in the Sierra Nevada between Los Angeles and Fort Tejon. For a reviewer whose living is with books, it is painful to describe a book as dangerous, but this is precisely the proper term for this work.

Compromises of Conflicting Claims: A Century of California Law, 1760-1860.

By Richard R. Powell. (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Ocean Publications, 1977. xiv, 332 pp. Appendices, index. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by W. N. Davis, Jr., *Chief of Archives, California State Archives.*

The author of this unique book, Richard R. Powell, was a professor of law at Columbia Law School for thirty-eight years and at Hastings College of Law for twelve years. He was the esteemed Reporter for the American Law Institute project that produced the *Restatement of the Law of Property* (4 volumes, 1927-43) and later the author of *Treatise on the Law of Property* (7 volumes, 1949-58). For his excellence in the field of law he has received many honors.

This latest of Powell's writings grew out of the view that commemoration of the Hastings College of Law centennial should include "a substantial ingredient" over and beyond a recounting of the school's accomplishments of the past. "The idea of preparing a narrative of how California had evolved the viable law for a great state in a remarkably short number of years" (p. xiii) became the project that supplied that need.

The format of the book is that of the highly-organized, closely-reasoned, clearly- and succinctly-written law treatise. Fifty numbered paragraphs comprise the book's eight chapters. The text totals 137 pages, the notes 90 pages. The expansive notes are placed at the end of each chapter so that they can be read along with the text. Throughout, exhaustive material is presented with remarkable concision.

The author acknowledges that in undertaking this work he soon found that his skills in teaching law needed supplements in the skills of the historian. Acquisition of these new skills was not easy, he admits. How does Powell do as a historian? Concerning his abstraction of the early California story as it relates to the history of California law, it is the reviewer's opinion that, given the scope of the task and the time available for its completion, few California historians could do a better job. Of course some historian's will disagree with some things Powell says. An example of this is his statement that "the future of California [as of 1769] would rest on the outcome of the very unequal struggle between outposts of decadent Spain and the vibrant and aggressive Anglo-Saxons" (p. 6). Powell is not unaware of the counterargument on that point, and he has read Herr's *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, but he is convinced that the evidence is on his side.

For a definition of law that is basic to the philosophy and structure of the book, Powell presents the quotation that "law is the articulated effort of two or more entities to get along together" (p. 1). By this definition, law is more than can be found in legislative enactments and court decisions alone. That concept accords with the words, "compromises of conflicting claims," which appear in the book's title. In his treatment of the period prior to 1769 and on through the Spanish, Mexican, and Interim periods down to 1850, Powell dwells principally on the entities, claims, and developments that occupy the larger stage, those represented by church and state, military governor and mission president, Mexico and California, Northern California and Southern California, Californian and American immigrant, and military government and civilian community. Local administration of justice,

as indicated in Bancroft's *History of California*, Volumes I-IV, is little considered. That, however, is not Powell's main concern. What he set out to do, and definitely does, is to identify and evaluate the events and conditions of those years, such as the Mexican legislative acts, the secularization of the missions, and the Spanish-Mexican land grants, that affected the evolution of California law.

The four chapters, V through VIII, bear the general title, "The Decade of Many Beginnings—1850 to 1860." Chapter V, subtitled "Changing Circumstances of the State," examines the subject of multiplied population, diversified products, communication, educational facilities, welfare, and churches, which together "form the warp and the woof, into which the people embroidered their law" (p. 114). It is against this background that Powell proceeds to the specifics of the final chapters, which are his strongest grounds.

Chapter VI, "Evolution of Law—Tools of Government," deals with the continuity of Spanish and Mexican law and the six classes of cases decided by the Supreme Court of California during the 1850's in which the authority of the earlier Mexican and Spanish law was at issue, being "sometimes respected, sometimes rejected, sometimes circumvented" (p. 132); the political problems inherent in separation of governmental powers into legislative, judicial, and executive functions; the conflict between state and federal power; courts and procedure; and crimes and punishment. Chapter VII, "Evolution of Property Law," takes up general land law, mechanics' lien, landlord and tenant, protection of possession, decedents' estates, miners' law, and water law; and Chapter VIII, "Evolution of Law—Miscellaneous Topics," business and labor law, husband and wife, treatment of minorities, and the legal profession. On all these topics Powell classifies, surveys, and summarizes the California statutory law and case law of the decade. He analyzes eleven Supreme Court decisions relating to the possession of land and twenty-three dealing with the property rights of married persons, for example. He points out the survivals of Spanish and Mexican law and duly notes the substantial amount of judicial legislation produced by the state Supreme Court. The "marvel of this decade" (p. 142) is the completeness with which the common law tradition as to procedure was planted. The last three chapters, with notes, provide a superlative compendium of the legislative statutes and Supreme Court opinions relating to California law and procedure of the first decade of statehood.

In developing this book, Powell has used a wide range of

sources, both primary and secondary, including many articles which were published in the *California Historical Quarterly*. He has added, in the appendices, copies of the Regulations of Felipe de Neve, the California Constitution of 1849, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (articles VIII and IX), the heretofore unpublished petition of nineteen San Francisco lawyers to the California legislature urging adoption of the civil law (1850), and the report of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary recommending adoption of the common law (1850). A very good index has been included.

Powell quotes Justice Heydenfeldt in *Conger v. Weaver*, 6 Cal. 556 (1856), "that every judge is bound to know the history and the leading traits which enter into the history of the country where he presides" (p. 181). Powell adds in a footnote that this statement "would be a useful item for the cover blurb of this book!" (p. 193). That such an item is fitting for this impressive work, reflective of the book's character, the reviewer quite agrees.

Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America.

Edited by Emma Gee et al. (Los Angeles: University of California Asian American Studies Center, 1976. xiv, 595 pp. Illustrations, tables, bibliographic essay. Cloth \$17.95, paper \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Philip P. Choy, architect and scholar of Asian-American affairs.

Until recently the Asians in America were nearly invisible in our nation's history. Any portrayal of Asians was subject to the whims of the white majority. An unfavorable press, as well as the works of eminent historians of the past such as Hubert H. Bancroft and Rockwell Hunt, left a legacy that Asians were undesirable as Americans. More recently over-enthusiastic journalists in search of a positive proof of the "American dream" have cited the Asians in America as outstanding model citizens for other minorities to emulate, as people who have overcome past adversity through uncomplaining hard work. Japanese Americans assumed their role as the quiet American, suppressing their anger and accepting their fate in World War II internment camps. Ignoring these bitter memories, they promoted Sukiyaki and Cherry Blossoms

in their stead. Likewise, the Chinese American substituted for the humiliating racist immigration policies of the past chop sticks and chop suey and Chinese New Year Festivities. In accepting these roles, Asians in America kept their place as non-participating, impotent citizens.

A turn of events took place during the civil rights movement of the 1960's and 1970's. Activist Asian Americans forged the beginnings of ethnic study departments in our universities. From the centers of ethnic studies have come many publications setting new perspectives, authored by Asian Americans.

Counterpoint is an anthology of some 600 pages organized in three parts: Critical Perspectives, Contemporary Issues, and Literature. Among the many authors are some notable pioneers in the field of ethnic studies as well as students contributing scholarly works.

The use of the term Asians in this volume refers to geographical rather than ethnic origins. People of the Pacific, Samoans, East Indians, Filipinos, Koreans, and Vietnamese are included as well as the Japanese and Chinese. The Filipinos and the Samoans who began their migration in the post-World War II era were classified as American nationals, neither citizen nor alien. The Filipino shared the common fate as "undesirables" with their Asian neighbors.

Sub-sections include critiques on past writings on the Asian Americans and offer new approaches through a series of scholarly essays probing the interaction of national and international politics with the Asian experience.

It is evident by the selection of essays that the Asian American experience is diverse and vibrant with life, in contrast to the common depiction of Asians as continually licking their wounds of rejection and totally pre-occupied with the problems of assimilation. One essay deals with this sociological issue, "The Chinese American in Sociology," authored by Lucie Cheng Hirate. In another essay, "The Politics and the United States Chinese Communities," the author H. Mark Lai deals with "rejection" as one of the major factors which gave life and meaning to the community through intense involvement in the politics of China. It is a natural phenomenon with all immigrants to maintain an interest in their own native land. With the Chinese, however, this was sustained throughout several generations, due to the long period of hostility and exclusion in this country.

In the Contemporary Issues section, the history, origin, and philosophy of ethnic studies and its struggles against the

stubborn resistance of traditional-minded academia are traced. The essay, "Ethnic Studies and Higher Education for Asian Americans," by Mike Nurase delineates for the reader an understanding of the material presented in this volume. The author writes:

One approach to understanding the experience of Asians in America is a study of the history of ethnic studies and the context of the system of higher education in which it arose. . . . A study of ethnic studies . . . of why the resistance to ethnic studies is so strong . . . leads to the conclusion that the priority of higher education in the United States has been to continue the maintenance and transmission of class privileges.

One of the fruitful results of the ethnic movement in education is covered by Ling Chi Wang in the *Lau v. Nichols* case for equality in education. This Supreme Court case upheld the right to bilingual-bicultural education for students of all language and cultural backgrounds.

This volume is by no means a bedside reader. It provides the teacher of ethnic studies with a wealth of material. It challenges the authority of the traditional historian, for there is more to history than biographies of great men and veneration of the past. The perspectives presented are by no means a conclusion, but a beginning in the study of the conflict between America's minorities and the white majority.

The Politics of Business in California, 1890-1920.

By Mansel G. Blackford. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977, xi, 221 pp. Bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by William H. Pickens, Ph.D. in economic history from U.C. Davis and Research Analyst for the California Post-secondary Education Commission. He is currently working on a history of public policy and the development of the San Francisco Bay.

Politics and business in America have always mixed well, despite all the apparent hostility between public officials and businessmen. Until recently, many scholars accepted these appearances and composed long histories about the tycoons' horror over government regulation and commercial meddling by such Progressive champions as President Teddy Roosevelt and California Governor Hiram Johnson at the turn of our century. Professor Blackford's is one among a score of books which disagree that this hostility was common in the business-political world.

Blackford analyzes how various groups of businessmen reacted to the unsettling economic forces in California between 1890 and 1920. Blackford's businessmen include agricultural growers, oilmen, lumbermen, railroad executives,



Peddling fish in Chinatown, old traditions in the new land. Photograph by Arnold Genthe.

directors of public utilities, bankers, and insurance salesmen. The unsettling forces include rapidly increasing production, steadily falling prices, intense competition, suspicion among consumers, and national economic fluctuations. Blackford's business groups reacted to these forces "by trying to reorder their lives in ways that stressed the need for stability, efficiency, and expertise . . . [through] an intricate combination of private and public actions" (pp. xi, 161). Faced with initial difficulties, all groups established private arrangements for stability and higher prices: specialized cooperatives in agriculture, horizontal and vertical integration in the oil industry, associations among bankers and insurance agents. In each industry, technological change or attractively expanding markets undermined these voluntary arrangements and sent businessmen scrambling to Sacramento. They asked the government to enforce standards, to regulate competition, or to set rates. At first, their requests failed because of squabbles within their industry or stiff criticism from outside. Gradually, the firms closed ranks and successfully convinced others (often "Progressive" reformers) to regulate them or other industries. The milestone laws were carefully orchestrated compromises among factions within the industry (banking) or between the industry (railroads) and powerful customers. Blackford concludes that political alignments cut across party lines and usually reflected geographical areas of the state. Regulatory commissions were rarely dominated by the firms because of continuing strife within the industries. Blackford relates all these business and political maneuvers to the central theme of "organizational synthesis," first suggested by Robert Wiebe and Samuel Hays: "The spread of bureaucratic organizations and the growth of professions, together with a heightened awareness of the need for order and efficiency . . . best [explain] the course of American development in this period." (p. ix.)

If this theme is well established in historical studies, what does Blackford contribute? Certainly this book is convincing that efforts for regulation began in the 1890's; the reforms of the "Progressive Era" were not sharp breaks with earlier times. Unlike most studies which focus on single industries or on state government, Blackford presents an encompassing view of industry structures and their emerging problems which he relates directly to lawmaking. Finally, he describes a few consumers who played strategic, though erratic, roles in business legislation.

This competent work is marred by two flaws. First, I have never been impressed by the explanatory power of the

"organizational synthesis" theme. It is too general and begs important issues. For example, Blackford insists that business politics were "pluralist" rather than "elitist" because no single industry or firm enjoyed absolute domain: "divisions within business ranks further limited the mastery businessmen sought" (p. 171). He naively implies that power was widely diffused and that many groups had equal access to lawmakers. Where were small farmers, labor groups, unorganized workers, and radical political parties? Blackford describes a Battle of the Titans, and while it is true that Titans often lose, especially when fighting among themselves, they still remain Titans.

Second, Blackford ignores the profound insights into political economy which have been contributed recently by economists. Lance Davis and Douglass North, for example, have pioneered a controversial model which links economic growth, economic organization, and political arrangements. Their concerns closely parallel Blackford's own interests, and their helpful definitions and economic theories would have sharpened Blackford's analysis of his mass of facts even if he made only casual use of their model. Nevertheless, Professor Blackford has written a comprehensive though succinct book which well serves the specialist in California business history or in public administration.

A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers.

By Dick Meister and Anne Loftis. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977. xi, 241 pp. Illustrations, index. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, Reviews Editor.

The steady stream of books on the organization of farm workers shows no sign of diminishing. Like most of its recent predecessors, *A Long Time Coming* is written from a perspective sympathetic to farm labor unions in general and to the efforts of Cesar Chavez in particular, and a great deal of the material in this book can be found in numerous other works. Nevertheless, the book has much to recommend it. Meister, a veteran labor journalist, and Loftis, a social historian, have produced a well-written summary of much that is known about farm worker organization, past and present.



Farmworkers picking cotton in Fresno County—back-breaking stoop labor

Most of their account deals with what might be called the “Chavez Era” from the mid-sixties to the present. But there are also strong chapters describing the dramatic organizational campaigns of the IWW at the turn of the century, the efforts of the Communist Party in the 1930’s, and the hesitant farm labor activities of the AFL and CIO in the immediate post-war years. Unfortunately, the authors do not give enough attention to past attempts by various ethnic groups to form independent unions. In particular, the efforts of Mexican workers during the twenties and thirties are important historical precedents to the development of today’s United Farm Workers.

Meister and Loftis intended to write a national history of farm labor organization, and they include valuable information on the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union and the ILWU’s successful efforts in Hawaiian agriculture. But the great bulk of the book is devoted to California. In reality, the authors have written a history of farm labor unionization in California, with only brief and impressionistic coverage of other states.

It is true that a very large portion of the national history of the farm union movement in the United States has occurred in California. But this fact itself raises questions about the extent to which this state’s individual experience is applicable to the nation as a whole. Has California been a vanguard for the rest of the country in developing agricultural labor organization, or have the unique features of the state’s agricultural history and economy made it a special case? Will California’s new farm labor law be a model for other states and the federal government, or will it simply make California an exception similar to Hawaii? Meister and Loftis have not answered these questions, but they have written an intelligent and useful narrative for the general reader.

Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796-97.

Translated and edited by Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977. ix, 177 pp. Tables, lexicon, index. Paper \$6.50, cloth \$12.50.)

Reviewed by Daniel J. Garr, Associate Professor, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, San José State University.

The management of the vast North American frontier was for Spain an interminable problem. It was a challenge of similar proportions shared by generations of missionaries. The religious orders were the vanguard on the perimeter of colonization, seeking to assimilate the Indian cultures encountered in the centrifugal expansion which persisted for three centuries. This Report by thirty-four-year-old Father Diego Bringas de Manzaneda, O.F.M. (1762-c.1830) presents a vivid picture of conditions at the close of the eighteenth century in the Primería Alta on the Sonora-Arizona frontier, a region still in disarray following the expulsion of the Jesuits three decades earlier. The marauding Apache had not been contained, many existing missions had suffered setbacks or had atrophied, plans to establish a secure overland route from the Californias through the Sonora desert and on to New Mexico still languished, and the ominous cloud of secularization hovered over the beleaguered missionary realm.

The solutions proposed by Bringas are instructive. Until the Apaches are denied the use of firearms and compelled to settle into an agrarian lifestyle, that “vagabond nation” will never be at peace nor able to “indemnify the Treasury for the considerable sum . . . with which it supports these disguised enemies” (p. 119). This contrasts, as the editors point out, with

Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez' policy of encouraging alcoholism while providing the Apaches with inferior weapons so as to foster a dependence on Spanish gunsmiths. Bringas also suggests that "prisoners of war captured by some nations" be purchased "at very low prices, thus furnishing the opportunity for their baptism" (p. 51). Not unexpectedly, more resources are called for so that additional settlements may be established with adequate missionary and military staffing. Perhaps the chief obstacle to this goal was the tight-fisted posture (especially with respect to missionaries) of Pedro Galindo Navarro, *asesor* of the Provincias Internas who held sway until least 1797. Bringas painstakingly reviews his communications with Navarro, hoping that a sympathetic royal hearing would ensue. However, for reasons discussed in a Preface marred by a chronological oversight, this Report was never to reach its destination, the desk of Ferdinand VII.

Bringas' views on secularization are another highlight of this instructive document. He asks Ferdinand to "prolong the time for as many decades as are needed to advance Indian nations to the state to which the law of ten years was originally intended to bring them . . . for a nation is stupid and backward in learning the ineffable mysteries of the faith and lazy in working and cultivating the fields" (p. 50). Later, he asserts Indians "are always children" and questions "of what importance is it . . . that these missions have been here for more than a hundred years while their population has the characteristics of one that is barely ten years old?" (p. 57).

To modern eyes, such views only serve to raise questions concerning the entire missionary program. One cannot resist the observation that the Report lacks the immediacy imbued by a Serra, Lasuén, or Garcés. Bringas had no prior experience in the field. He was a scholar, administrator, and polemicist. Despite their acknowledged partisanship, Serra *et al.* wrote in a persuasive manner which burned with conviction, whereas Bringas' document is the product of a visitation with nine other friars about whom little is known. The Report should be read in that context.

Editors Matson and Fontana have provided a lively and informative introduction to this book, and their discussion of Bringas' career subsequent to this assignment whets the appetite for more details of the life of an otherwise remarkable man. However, a more critical examination of the inherently contentious church-state partnership would have been helpful. In any case, students of Arizona history and that of the Borderlands will find this volume a welcome addition to their libraries.

Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900.

By Nicholas Perkins Hardeman. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977. xiv, 357 pp. Illustrations. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, Department of History, Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill.

Wilderness Calling is at once a thoughtful interpretation of the American westward movement and an adventure tale of large proportions. The narrative is lively and punctuated with scenes of high drama—one is easily caught up in the dangers of flatboating down the Tennessee in the 1870's or braving an Isthmian passage in 1850.

The focus of the book is on Thomas Hardeman and his descendants. Through the Hardemans' experiences and the remarkable records which they produced, we are led to consider such matters as frontier society in the Virginia-Carolina back country of the 1760's, the function of frontier merchants and small country stores in the early Southwest, the prominence of Missouri in the westward movement, the Santa Fe trail and trade, the independence movement in Texas, the Oregon migration and California gold rush, Confederate military activity in the Far West and the postwar Confederate diaspora in Latin America, Texas and Kansas cowtowns of the 1870's, and life among the Black "Buffalo Soldiers" of the U.S. Tenth Cavalry.

California historians will be especially interested in the discussion of Peter Hardeman Burnett, California supreme court justice and first elected governor. Two chapters are devoted to Burnett's Oregon career—leader of the great migration of 1843, propagandist for the Northwest, public official—and one chapter to his life in California. Here, as elsewhere, Hardeman moves effortlessly from the particular to the general. Using the career of Peter Burnett as his touchstone, he offers a portrait of West Coast politics and society at mid-century. Burnett, like other members of the Hardeman clan, is not an altogether attractive figure, and the author does not hesitate to describe his less admirable qualities. Burnett's penchant to resign from office when the going was rough—as he did on the Oregon trail and as California governor—is duly noted. Likewise Burnett's racial prejudice, which led him to oppose the entry of free Blacks into Oregon and California, is described, albeit briefly. (Burnett's infamous decision in the Archy Lee case is covered in one sentence.) Yet

Hardeman also defends his progenitors from the slights or inaccuracies of their detractors. For instance, he denies any wrongdoing by Burnett as John Sutter's legal counsel and business agent.

After describing each generation's move westward, Hardeman examines their motives. The West contained great quantities of cheap land, he argues, and in a predominantly agricultural society increased landholdings represented the main path to upward mobility. While the path was open to few at the bottom of the heap (Hardeman rejects Turner's "safety valve" theory), it was open to families like the Hardemans who were already comfortably established in more settled areas, and who were allured by the prospect of even better holdings and social standing in the West. Hardeman also sees the family itself as an active force in the westward movement. "As the principal social structure, the most important moral and cultural institution, and a primary economic unit, the pre-twentieth century family has been slighted by historians of the West in their search for causes of behavior—slighted in favor of broader-based determinisms and influences."

Wilderness Calling is history by induction: the story of the Hardeman family has been told with such skill that it illuminates a panorama of western history. Genealogists and historians might well consider this book as a model for the writing of family history.

Saga of Rancho El Tejón.

By Frank F. Latta. (Santa Cruz: Bear State Books, 304 High Street, 1976. xv, 293 pp. Map, illustrations. \$15.00 postpaid.)

Reviewed by John E. Caswell, Professor of History, California State College, Stanislaus and co-author of Streams in a Thirsty Land: A History of the Turlock Region (1972).

Long before tape recorders, Frank Latta began interviewing San Joaquin Valley pioneers. After he had accumulated 17,000 interviews, he lost count. He had several thousand newspaper columns and seven books to his credit before his recent outpouring began in 1976: *Dalton Gang Days*, *Saga of Rancho El Tejón*, *Tailholt Tales*, and more recently, *Joaquin Murietta*

and his Horse Gangs. Six more manuscripts are reported to be in preparation.

Saga of Rancho El Tejón is a selection from interviews with José Jesús López, long-time major-domo of the rancho. Latta interviewed Don José repeatedly between 1916 and 1939. López' family stories begin about 1772; he himself could recall events prior to 1860.

López herded a band of sheep into the San Joaquin in November, 1873, and three months later he was hired by General Edward Fitzgerald Beale to supervise all sheep on the rancho. A few years later he was put in charge of the cattle, too.

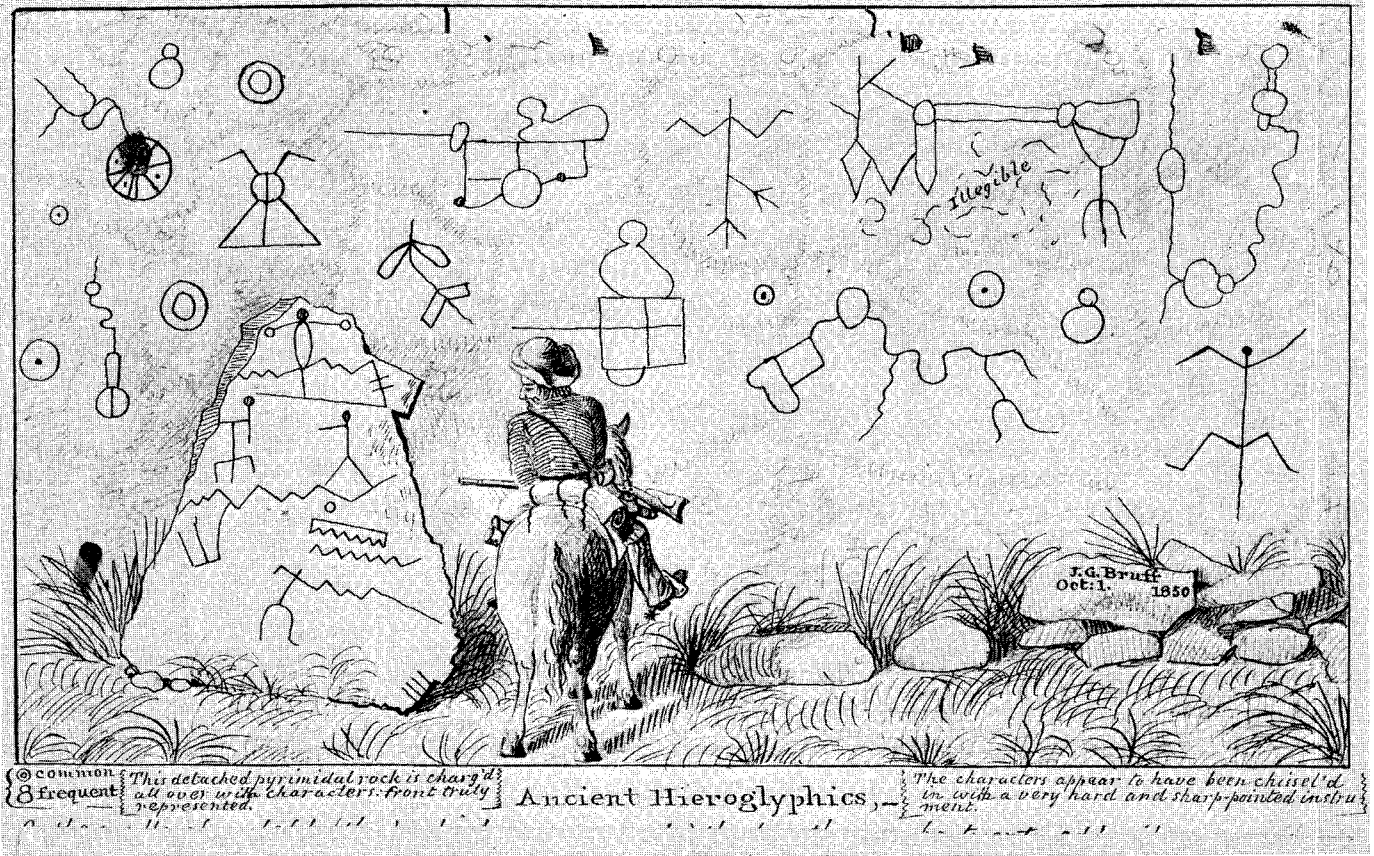
Around 1870 Don José began keeping a diary in which he would write as he rode in his buckboard over the 300,000 acres of the rancho. Although fire destroyed his diaries in 1917, his memory of events was excellent, and he insisted on Latta's recording his statements *verbatim*.

The result truly is saga—the doings of heroes. It lacks the cohesiveness of good historical writing, but it gives us wondrous glimpses of Los Angeles in the 1870's and the southern San Joaquin over the succeeding half-century. A few of López' topics may convey something of the scope and flavor of the volume: an account of Mexican freight haulers, including Don José's father, who used ox teams and caretas; development of the Overland Stage Road across the Tehachapis; the skill of the Indian vaqueros. In a chapter devoted to bandits, López quickly disposes of the notion that Tiburcio Vásquez was a folk hero: he preyed on his own people and impregnated his own niece. Chapters are devoted to two of López heroes, General Beale and Alexis Godey, Frémont's guide.

The final chapter is an account of Don José's long, painful, and dangerous sheep drive from Owens Valley to Green River, Wyoming, in 1879. Earle Crowe's *General Beale's Sheep Odyssey* (1960) is a more general account, but Don José's story better conveys the frustrations, fears, and ever present dread of death in the desert which remained vivid as he recounted the story decades later.

All who have an interest in how Californios and Indians adapted to the American presence, all who cherish glimpses of early Los Angeles and the San Joaquin, will appreciate what Frank Latta has done. Helen S. Giffen's *Story of El Tejón* (1942) furnishes valuable background, but lacks the detail and color of this account. The one serious fault in this book is the failure to provide background and explanatory material, whether in the text or in footnotes. It is to be hoped that this departure from the author's customary practice will not be repeated.

Hieroglyphic Defile & Creek.



Prehistory of the Far West: Homes of Vanished Peoples.

By L. S. Cressman. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1977. xvii, 248 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Reviewed by Albert E. Elsasser, Associate Research Anthropologist, University of California, Berkeley.

Probably Luther Cressman has been involved with the archaeology of western North America longer than any other living person. His first publications began to come out in the early 1930's, and since then, until his retirement at the University of Oregon in 1963 and beyond, he has produced a steady stream of monographs on the subject and has inspired a great many students to work in the field as well.

During his long career, Cressman has collaborated or consulted with a variety of experts in every discipline conceivably related to prehistory: vulcanology, glaciology, palynology, and the like. One reads the present book with the feeling that he has neglected none of the special approaches beyond the field of archaeology proper which may bear upon the topic of man's cultural development in this part of the New World. Often when he discusses possible tracks of early men from one place to another, the reader can easily visualize Cressman himself, perhaps in the company of other keen observers,

walking over the proposed route to see if it were feasible.

Obviously in a book of this scope there are many frustrating gaps and dead ends which must be confronted. When Cressman presents the alternatives and then his considered judgment about what the reality may have been, the reader does not experience that familiar feeling of somehow having been let down without a decision. In his deliberations about the presence of man more than 25,000 years ago in several localities in Southern California, perhaps he is slightly more tolerant about accepting the ancientness of some sites than the evidence warrants. Assuredly, however, he cannot be accused of attempting to slant the evidence in favor of any particular thesis concerning such hoary antiquity.

Early chapters are devoted to descriptions of the land, its resources, and the people, the early "wanderers" from Asia who found all the marvels, perils, and uncertainties of the new environment. Later we are given, with incisive commentary, the results of archaeological surveys and excavations, the physical evidence upon which Cressman and scores of other investigators have based their interpretations of man's early and checkered career in the vast land extending from Alaska to Mexico and from the Pacific Coast to about the crest of the Rockies.

The section about subsistence and adaptation is less coldly documented by references to the works of others, but here the

full flavor of Cressman's humanistic thinking can be appreciated. He refers to the implements which big game hunters, fishermen, and plant food gatherers have left behind them—starting about 11,000 years ago—in terms of near wonder at the enormity of their tasks in their unfamiliar surroundings. One does not merely learn, for example, that the bow and arrow supplanted around 2000 years ago the much less effective throwing stick or *atlatl* and spear. There is set up the picture of small societies considering the merits of each, like people of the early twentieth century trying to settle on the horse-drawn carriage or the automobile as the ideal means of transportation.

Even in the few years which have elapsed since the writing of the present volume, new discoveries have been made in western North American early man studies. Cressman of course anticipated this, but it will nevertheless probably be a long time before anyone can produce such a definitive and easily readable account of man's presence in this or any other part of the continent.

Deutsche Exil-literatur seit 1933. Teil I. Kalifornien.

Edited by John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka. (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1976. 1000 pp.)

Reviewed by Jarrell C. Jackman, whose doctoral dissertation focuses on German émigrés in Southern California from 1933 to 1950.

Published two years ago in Switzerland and Germany, this scholarly work on German émigrés who settled in California during the 1930's and 1940's contains a collection of essays and short biographies which should be of interest to California historians. There is a general knowledge that famous German writers and composers, such as Thomas Mann and Arnold Schoenberg, became permanent residents of Southern California during this period. Until this volume, however, very little has been published on the other German émigré authors, playwrights, composers, musicians, scholars, actors, and film directors who also settled in the state. The essays in this book are written by a number of scholars and range in subject from the interaction between the émigrés and the university of California, Los Angeles, to a brief study on what exile was like in Hollywood. The remainder of the book is devoted to

biographies on the writers and scriptwriters, the length of each depending on the importance of the author.

The impression left by this book is that the émigrés must be divided into two groups: those who, in their exile, simply withdrew and those who attempted to adapt to a new life in California. Not surprisingly, age and profession played a large part in determining how well the individual émigré adapted to Southern California, the region in which most of them settled because of the job opportunities offered in the Hollywood studios. The older Germans found living and working in Southern California much more difficult than did the younger ones, and of these, musicians and composers found exile less disruptive to their lives than did authors and actors, who were more dependent on language for economic survival. A few of the writers, especially the novelists Alfred Döblin and Heinrich Mann, lived in total isolation, the Southern California community almost completely unaware of their presence. Yet others were celebrated and gained reputations that extended beyond the state, although it should be added that these writers included Thomas Mann and Franz Werfel, who were known before they arrived in California.

Another impression that is left by this book is that the émigrés' years in California had little impact on their writings and creative output, other than allowing them the freedom to continue writing and composing on subjects and themes that only occasionally related to California or their experiences there. On the other hand, it can be said that the composer Ernst Toch, the movie director Billy Wilder, and many other émigrés had a large impact on the region through teaching at local universities and through their work as actors, screenwriters, and directors in Hollywood.

The major weakness of this book is that the introduction is far too short and, consequently, fails to provide the reader with a much needed overview of the exiles' years in California. In addition, the editors apparently did not set down sufficient guidelines for the scholars who contributed essays, because a few of the articles, in particular the one on emigration and political radicalism, have very little to do with the subject of German émigrés in California. On the whole, however, Professors Spalek and Strelka are to be commended for putting together this important work that includes a companion volume of bibliographical material of value to anyone interested in further research on the émigrés. In fact, a short version of this book published in English and geared more toward American readers would be a significant contribution to the cultural history of California.

The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads.

By LeRoy R. Hafen. (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman Publications, 1976. 361 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$25.00.)

Reviewed by Stephen D. Mikesell, doctoral candidate in history at the University of California, Davis.

Quarterman Publications is to be commended for making available again LeRoy Hafen's 1926 classic in its series on American postal history. *The Overland Mail* indeed represents a remarkable chapter in the development of the Postal Service, and Hafen's text is still the essential work on the subject. Hard-pressed to maintain communication with the territory of the Mexican Cession, Congress in the 1850's abandoned the traditional policy of postal self-sufficiency. It embraced instead a program involving massive subsidization of western mail carriers. These subsidies emboldened recipients and hopeful recipients into heroic achievements, some of which are now part of American folklore—the Pony Express, the stagecoach through Apache country, and so forth. Hafen focuses on the congressional background to these romantic deeds (while not neglecting romanticizing altogether), and his use of congressional and other governmental sources is a major contribution to our understanding of the subject.

Useful as it remains, the book can be dated to some extent by the factual and stylistic shortcomings of the decade in which it was written. Turrentine Jackson, for example, has shown that the corporate genealogy of the Overland Mail Company was considerably more complex than Hafen suspected. One also doubts that a writer today would repeat even the few romantic diversions in which Hafen indulges, such as "Snowshoe" Thompson's superhuman exploits, which he inherited from H. H. Bancroft and Charles Shinn.

One might also wonder why, in his thorough and intelligent use of congressional debates, Hafen dwelt so little upon the effects of sectionalism. He does use sectional rivalry to explain why the Overland Mail took a southern route and southern "States' Rights" objections to federal activism. But something more fundamental was involved. As David Potter showed in *The People of Plenty* and again in *The Impending Crisis*, communication is the *sine qua non* of nationality. Statesmen of the 1850's understood the danger the Mexican Cession posed for the Union, if they were unaware of its severity. This was the context of the frantic effort to

establish western communication lines. The favors California received, in mail subsidies and other forms, owed largely to anxieties over the Union in the years between the Wilmot Proviso and the firing on Fort Sumter.

Nonetheless, the insights gained from time and newly-discovered archives detract surprisingly little from Hafen's work, and Quarterman does an excellent job of republishing the 1926 Arthur H. Clark book. The original plates, including maps and illustrations, are in perfect shape and are flawlessly reproduced.

Sketches of Old Sacramento.

Edited by Jesse M. Smith. (Sacramento: Sacramento County Historical Society, 1976. 252 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by Ted Baggelmann, noted California artist and a writer on Sacramento.

This book was published by the Sacramento County Historical Society as a tribute to Dr. Joseph A. McGovan, retired Professor Emeritus at California State University, Sacramento. Most fittingly, ten of the twelve chapters were written by former students of Dr. McGovan. The book's editor, Jesse M. Smith, was Dr. McGovan's student, too.

Sketches contains a wide variety of subject matter, most of which reaches beyond the interest sphere of Sacramento. Bicycle enthusiasts, for instance, will love Beth Fulton's "The Capital City of Wheelmen," a spirited story starting during the 1890's covering bicycle races, excursions, and complaints about bumpy city streets and rutted county roads, in addition to moans over \$5 fines for infractions such as wheeling without bell or horn.

Another chapter, "Sacramento on the Rise," was written for this tribute by Barbara Lagomarsino. She did a fine job recording the fight of a city to keep two rivers from its doors and the successful battle to raise the Central Business District to a grade above all previous floods.

"New Channels for the American River" by Eugene Hogawa is another river story. This one deals exclusively with the harnessing of the American River, the source of many disastrous floods.

Sacramento in 1849, gateway to the Sierra Nevada



In "Sacramento Prison Ship," Dolores Saunders follows the barque *La Grange* from Salem, with sixty-one New Englanders on board, to Sacramento, where the barque was stripped of all usable materials, before being sold to the City of Sacramento to be converted into a prison-brig. Those interested in the "Governor's Mansion"—the old one—won't be disappointed in the story written by Joseph M. Munizich, as he tells about the transition of a private residence into the official residence for the governors of California. Other chapters deal with Sacramento's first electricity, the coming of the telegraph, the Japanese, horse-breeding, and riverboat disasters.

One special contribution to the collection is by Dr. William N. Davis, Jr., California State Archivist, who compiled a number of little known records on deposits at the state ar-

chives dealing with Johann A. Sutter, the first white settler in the interior of California. Charles Hume, Professor of Drama at California State University, Sacramento, made the other non-student contribution which covers the first of the Gold Rush theaters and its actors.

The book is illustrated throughout. John Kaestner did the dust-cover, a job well done, and in the same category belong the short notes about the authors. My only regret is that Dr. McGovan was not listed as the Founder of the Sacramento County Historical Society. (Orders for the book can be placed with the Society at P.O. Box 1175, Sacramento, Ca. 95806.)

California Check List

Gary Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1976-77) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- American Association of Retired Persons, Chapter 183 (compilers). *Saga of Inyo County*. Lone Pine: By the authors. Illustrations. \$17.95. Authors, Box 435, Lone Pine 93545.
- American Association of University Women. *Heritage Fresno: Homes and People*. 126 pp. Illustrations. \$7.50 plus tax and 50c. Publisher, 2995 E. Buckingham Way, Fresno 93726.
- Beauchamp, Jean Moores. *Shasta: The Queen City*. Drawings by Mabel Moores Frisbee. San Francisco: California Historical Society and Shasta Historical Society, 1973. Second printing. 96 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95 paper, \$10.95 cloth. Shasta Book, 830 Overhill Drive, Redding 96001.
- Beautiful California*. Edited by Elizabeth Hogan. Third edition. Menlo Park: Lane Publishing Co., 1977. 223 pp. Illustrations.
- Beidler, Peter G. *Fig Tree John: An Indian in Fact and Fiction*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977. 152 pp. \$4.95 paper, \$10.50 cloth. Publisher, Box 3398, Tucson 85722.
- Bickham, Jack M. *The Winemakers*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1977. 570 pp. \$10.00.
- Bowden, Dina Moore. *Junípero Serra in His Native Isle (1713-1749)*. Limited edition. 170 pp. Illustrations. \$26.00. Author, Calle Huerto de Torrella 13, Palma de Mallorca, Spain.
- Bunnell, Lafayette Houghton. *Discovery of the Yosemite in 1851*. Outbooks, [1977]. Reprint of the 1880 book. \$4.95.
- Burmeister, Eugene. *The Golden Empire: Kern County, California*. Beverly Hills, Autograph Press, 1977. 168 pp. Illustrations. \$10.95.
- Davis, Reda. *Woman's Republic*. Benson, Arizona: Border-Mountain Press, 1977. 200 pp. \$7.95 paper, \$12.95 cloth. Publisher, Benson, Arizona 85602.
- Fisher, Le Roy H. *The Western Territories in the Civil War*. Manhattan, Kansas: Journal of the West, 1977. 120 pp. Publisher, Box 1009, Manhattan 66502.
- Flamm, Jerry. *Good Life in Hard Times: San Francisco's 20's and 30's*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books. \$6.95.
- Francis, Jessie Hughes Davies. *An Economic and Social History of Mexican California, 1822-1846*. Vol. I. New York: Arno Press, 1976. 803 pp.
- Handbook of Yokuts Indians*. Santa Cruz: Bear State Books. 650 pp. Illustrations. \$20.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 759, Santa Cruz 95060.
- Hoexter, Corinne K. *From Canton to California: The Epic of Chinese Immigration*. New York: Four Winds Press, 1976. 304 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.
- Irigaray, Louis and Theodore Taylor. *A Shepherd Watches, A Shepherd Sings: Growing Up a Basque Shepherd in California's San Joaquin Valley*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1977. 300 pp. \$8.95.
- Jackson, Curtis E. and Marcia J. Galli. *A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Its Activities Among Indians*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, Inc., 1977. 162 pp. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco 94112.
- Jackson, Sheldon G. *A British Ranchero in Old California: The Life and Times of Henry Dalton and the Rancho Azusa*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 265 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale 91209. \$15.50.
- Jackson, Joseph Henry. *Bad Company: The Story of California's Legendary and Actual State-Robbers, Bandits, Highwaymen and Outlaws From the Fifties to the Eighties*. Reprint of the first edition, 1939. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. 346 pp. Illustrations. \$4.50, paper, \$15.00 cloth.
- Joaquin Murrieta and His Horse Gangs. Santa Cruz: Bear State Books, 650 pp. Illustrations. \$20.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 759, Santa Cruz 95060.
- Jones, Virgie V. *Historical Persons and Places in San Ramon Valley*. Alamo: Morris-Burt Press, \$17.50. Publisher, 10 Gary Way, Alamo 94507.
- Keeling, Patricia J. (editor). *Once Upon A Desert*. Barstow: Mojave River Valley Museum Association, 1976. 260 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 1282, Barstow 92311.

- Lantis, David W. *California, Land of Contrast*. In collaboration with Rodney Steiner and Arthur E. Karinen. Third edition. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1977. 486 pp. Illustrations.
- Lapp, Rudolph M. *Blacks in Gold Rush California*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977. 321 pp. Illustrations. \$15.00.
- Latta, Frank F. *Dalton Gang Days*. Santa Cruz: Bear State Books. 293 pp. Illustrations. \$15.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 759, Santa Cruz 95060.
- Latta, Frank F. *Saga of Rancho El Tejón*. Santa Cruz: Bear State Books. 293 pp. Illustrations. \$15.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 759, Santa Cruz 95060.
- Laval, Jerome D. As "Pop" Saw It. Vol. 2. Fresno: Graphic Technology Co., 1977. 240 pp. Photographs. \$17.95. Publisher, 1911 N. Helm, Fresno 93727.
- Lewis, Allison, et al. *The Lamplighters: 25 Years of Gilbert and Sullivan in San Francisco*. San Francisco: Opera West Foundation, 1977. 163 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50 paper, \$20.00 cloth, \$50.00 limited edition, boxed. The Lamplighters, 68 Julian Ave., San Francisco 94103.
- Lewis, Betty. Watsonville: *Memories That Linger*. Fresno: Valley Publishers. 232 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00. Publisher, 8 East Olive Avenue, Fresno 93728.
- Lo Buglio, Rudecinda (editor). *Antepasados*. Volume II. Janesville, Los Californianos, 1977.
- Longstreet, Stephen. *All Star Cast: An Anecdotal History of the City of Los Angeles*. New York: Crowell, c.1977. 379 pp. Illustrations.
- Lynn, Rena. *The Story of the Stolen Valley*. Willits: L & S Publishing, 1977. 35 pp. Illustrations. Author, P.O. Box 628, Willits 95490.
- Martin, Wallace E. *Sail and Steam on the Northern California Coast*. Eureka: Interface California Corporation. \$32.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 3611, Eureka 95501.
- Mercer, John D. *Island of the Pelicans*. Sonoma: Creative Eye Press. Photographs. \$5.00 plus 75c. Publisher, 414 First Street East, Sonoma 95476.
- Merlin, Imelda. *Alameda: A Geographical History*. Alameda: Friends of the Alameda Free Library. Limited edition. 105 pp. Illustrations. \$4.00.
- Miller, Joaquin. *Selected Writings of Joaquin Miller*. Edited by Alan Rosenus. Drawings by Joaquin Miller. Eugene, Oregon: Urion Press, 1977. 268 pp. Illustrations.
- Monteagle, F. J. *Bare Knuckles at Pt. Isabel*. Oakland: East Bay Regional Park District. Publisher, 11500 Skyline Boulevard, Oakland 94619.
- Monteagle, F. J. *The Coney Island of the West*. Oakland: East Bay Regional Park District. Publisher, 11500 Skyline Boulevard, Oakland 94619.
- Newhall, Ruth (editor). *Golden Spike Centennial*. Newhall: Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society, 1976. 24 pp. Illustrations. \$1.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 875, Newhall 91350.
- Newman, Paul (comp.). *San Francisco's Parapet Ordinance*. Edited by Jay Turnbull. San Francisco: The Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, 1977. \$6.00. Publisher, 2007 Franklin Street, San Francisco 94109.
- Odens, Peter R. *The Indian and the Soldier*. Benson, Arizona: Border-Mountain Press, 1976. 52 pp. Illustrations. \$1.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 1296, Benson, Arizona 85602.
- The Plate of Brass Reexamined: A Report Issued by the Bancroft Library*. Berkeley: The University of California, 1977. 83 pp.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977. 454 pp. \$6.95.
- Red Trains in the East Bay*. Glendale: Interurbans. 352 pp. Illustrations. \$28.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 6444, Glendale 91205.
- Reps, John W. *Cities on Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West*. Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1976. 98 pp. Exhibition catalogue.
- Robinson, Bill (editor). *Border Country*. Benson, Arizona: Border-Mountain Press, 1976. 62 pp. Illustrations. \$1.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 1296, Benson, Arizona 85602.
- San Francisco Bay Area Photography 1976*. Society for the Encouragement of Contemporary Art, in cooperation with the San Francisco Museum of Art, 1977. 68 pp.
- Sargent, Mrs. J. L. (editor). *Amador County History*. Jackson, 1977. 127 pp. Reprint of 1927 publication. \$5.00.
- Schad, Jerry. *Backcountry Roads and Trails, San Diego County*. Beaverton, Oregon: Touchstone Press, c.1977. 96 pp.
- Shedd, Robert A. *Lake Tahoe Historical Sketches*. Stateline, Nevada: Mountain Press, 1977. 14 pp. Illustrations. \$2.95 plus tax, plus 40c. Author, P. O. Box 14097, South Lake Tahoe 95702.
- Sinclair, Andrew. *Jack: A Bibliography of Jack London*. New York: Harper and Row, 1977. 297 pp. Illustrated. \$12.95.
- Sinnott, James J. *Over North*. Downieville: By the author. 295 pp. Illustrations. \$14.00 plus 84c. Author, Downieville 95936.
- Stone, Irving. *Irving Stone's Jack London: His Life, "Sailor on Horseback" and Twenty-eight Selected Jack London Stories*. New York: Doubleday, 1977. 777 pp. \$12.95.
- Strobridge, William S. *Golden Gate to Golden Horn*. San Mateo: San Mateo County Historical Association [1977]. 70 pp. Illustrations. \$3.00.
- Topolos, Michael (et al). *Napa Valley Wine Tour*. Artwork by Sebastian Titus. [Vintage Image, 1977] 182 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95.
- Wartenberg, Henry. *Los Angeles Jewry in 1870*. Santa Monica: Norton B. Stern, 1977. \$7.00 plus 42c. Publisher, 2429-23rd Street, Santa Monica 90405.
- The Yellow Cars of Los Angeles*. Glendale: Interurbans. 329 pp. Illustrations. \$27.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 6555, Glendale 91205.

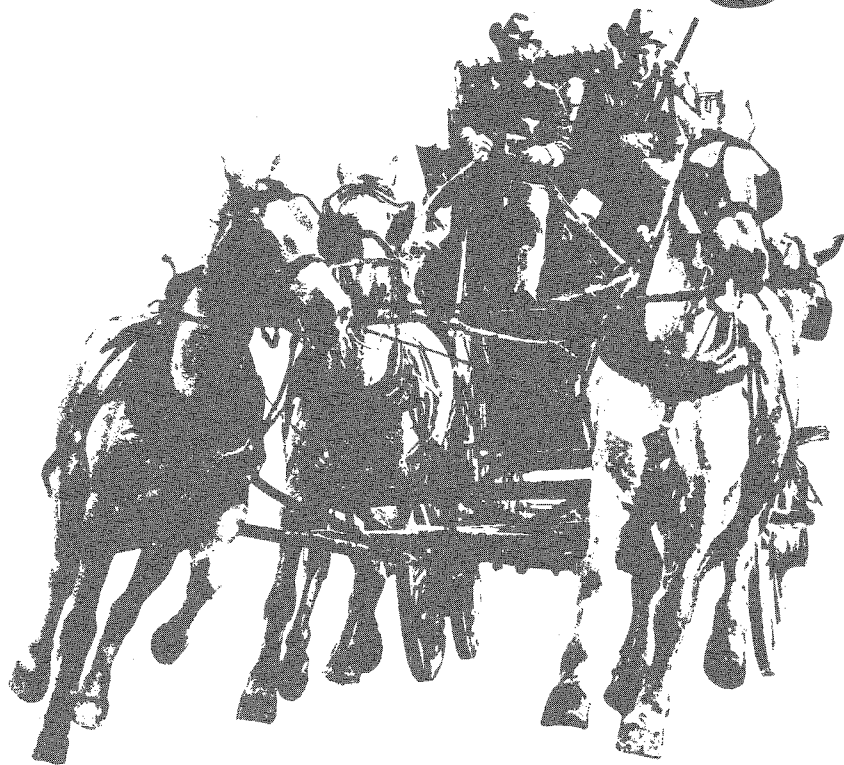


I AM ALDUS

Born Aldus Manutius, in 1445, I was said to be the greatest printer and scholar alive. Perchance I was. I mastered all known languages of the world, both living and dead. I mastered also the literature of every country and all times. I soon outran all my teachers and had perforce to instruct myself. ☞ My print-shop in Venice had no equal in all the world. I invented the italic letter form. I also invented the Footnote, to make clear any vagueness of the text. I also invented the Printer's Devil. I employed a small black slave, whom gossips and superstitious dunces believed to be an emissary of Satan. To dispel such notions I brought the blackamoor to church, where I proclaimed, "I, Aldus Manutius, make exposure of the printer's devil. All who think that he is not flesh and blood, come and pinch him!" ☞ It was my dearest wish to bring the world more light and learning through the use of the new art of printing. I succeeded in part. I helped the Renaissance of the world and I founded a family of printers who carried on my work for a hundred years. But my success would have been ten times as great had there been at my hand a typographical house so superbly equipped as Mackenzie-Harris Corp., San Francisco, the like of which is not to be found elsewhere!

**Only one bank
means the West.**

Wells Fargo.



*A special offer from the
Yosemite Natural History
Association*

A Portfolio Edition
**EADWEARD
MUYBRIDGE**
Yosemite Photographs
★ 1872 ★



Ten 18" x 22" prints on hand-made, gold-toned albumen paper. This portfolio marks the first production of albumen paper since its manufacture ceased nearly three-quarters of a century ago. These prints are in every respect faithful to the albumen prints Muybridge himself produced. They possess a richness of tonality and color impossible to achieve in modern photographic print media.

Only 300 of these handsome portfolios will be printed. They are offered at \$1,250.00 each.

*Portfolios are available
for inspection at:*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY LIBRARY
2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco
Wednesday through Saturday,
10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

MUSEUM OF ART,
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Shown by appointment, call 479-4177

UCLA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
LIBRARY
University of California, Los Angeles

Order direct from:

YOSEMITE NATURAL HISTORY
ASSOCIATION
P. O. Box 545, Yosemite National Park,
California 95389

For further information,
call (209) 372-4532.

Bad Company

The Story of California's Legendary and Actual Stage
Robbers, Bandits, Highwaymen, and Outlaws from the
Fifties to the Eighties

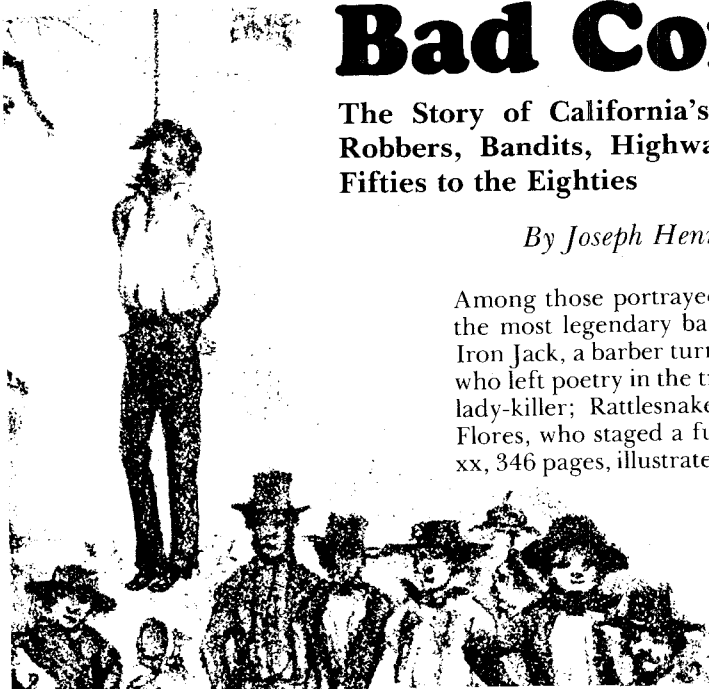
By Joseph Henry Jackson

Among those portrayed in this colorful rogues' gallery are Joaquin Murieta, the most legendary bandit of all; a Harvard graduate, Dick Fellows; Sheet-Iron Jack, a barber turned horse thief; Juan Soto, a brutal Indian; Black Bart, who left poetry in the treasure boxes he looted; Killer Vasquez, who was also a lady-killer; Rattlesnake Dick, self-styled "Pirate of the Placers"; and Juan Flores, who staged a full-scale "revolution" in Southern California.

Cloth \$15.00

Paper (BB 649) \$ 4.50

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS
901 North 17th Street, Lincoln 68588



California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LVI 1977

Contents

California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO • SAN MARINO • LOS ANGELES

NUMBER 1—SPRING 1977

“Likenesses Taken in the Most Approved Style”:

William Shew, Pioneer Daguerreotypist 2

by Wendy Cunkle Calmenson

Basha Singerman, Comrade of Petaluma 20

by Zelda Bronstein and Kenneth Kann

“The War of Complexional Distinction”:

Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia 34

by Malcolm Edwards

Father Serra Plans the Founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano 46

by Ynez Violé O'Neill

“Eat Me and Grow Young”: Orange Crate Art in the Golden State 52

by Laurie Gordon and John Salkin

REVIEWS

Day-by-Day Records: Diaries from the CHS Library *Part II* 72

by Lynn Bonfield Donovan

Book Reviews 82

California Check List 90

NUMBER 2—SUMMER 1977

Carpetbaggers Join the Rush for California Land 98

by Paul W. Gates

Laura Adams Armer, California Photographer 128

by Laverne Mau Dicker

California and the Colleges 140

Part 1

by John R. Thelin

Deluxe Accommodations: Stockton's Yo Semite House Hotel,

1869-1923 164

by Ronald Rayman

REVIEWS

Paul Wallace Gates, Historian of Public Land Policy 170

by Joseph M. Petulla

Book Reviews 175

California Check List 189

NUMBER 3—FALL 1977

"Like a Thousand Preachers Flying":

Religious Newspapers on the Pacific Coast to 1865 194

by Wesley Norton

"California is Quite a Different Place Now"—

The Gold Rush Letters and Sketches of William Hubert Burgess 210

by Gary Kurutz

California and the Colleges, Part 2 230

by John R. Thelin

Light Cast Upon Shadows:

The Non-California Years of Don Pedro Fages 250

by Donald A. Nuttall

REVIEWS

Comics and Cels: The Walt Disney Archives 270

by David R. Smith

In Memoriam 275

Book Reviews 277

California Check List 284

NUMBER 4—WINTER 1977

Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter:

The Dual Art of Maynard Dixon 290

by Kevin Starr

The Challenge to Philanthropy:

Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932 310

by Ronald L. Nye

Farm Gentry *vs.* the Grangers:

Conflict in Rural California 328

by Gerald L. Prescott

REVIEWS

"From the Place We Hear About . . .": A Descriptive Check List
of Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection 346

by Catherine Hoover and Robert Sawchuck

Book Reviews 368

California Check List 380

Volume Contents 385

Volume Index 389

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LVI 1977

Index

Compiled by Anna Marie and Everett G. Hager

California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO • SAN MARINO • LOS ANGELES

- Abajian, James deT., 74
 Abbott, Berenice, 129
 Abeita, Juan Rey, 298
 Abrego, Ismael, port., 7
 Adams, Charles Wilson, 129
 Adams, Laura May, *see* Armer, Mrs. Laura Adams
 Adams, Maria Henry, 129
 Africa, 23, 24
 Agrarian organizations, 328-345
 Agriculture, *see* "Farm Gentry *vs.* the Grangers: Conflict in Rural California," 328-345
 Aguirre, Antonio, 111
 Aitken, David, 135
 Aitken, Robert, 293; port., 133
 Alameda County Herald (newsp.), 101
 Alemany, Joseph Sadoc, 200
 Alexander, E. W., 315, 319
 All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975, by Charles M. Wollenberg, rev., 176-177
 Alta California (newsp.), 5, 120
 America (vessel), 80
 The American Farm: A Photographic History, by Maisie and Richard Conrat, rev., 175-176
 American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, 350
 Amurrio, Gregorio, 47, 49
 An Enduring Heritage: Historical Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula, by Dorothy F. Regnery, rev., 180-181
 Anglo Over Bracero: A History of the Mexican Worker in the United States from Roosevelt to Nixon, by Peter N. Kirstein, rev., 282
 Anza, Juan Bautista de, 256, 257
 Apache Indians, 257, 258
 Aranzazu (vessel), 265
 Architectural Board of Review, Santa Barbara, 312
 Argus (newsp.), 28
 Arias, Andrés, 260, 261
 Ariel (vessel), 80
 Arkansas (vessel), 76
 Armer, Austin, 135
 Armer, Laura Adams, *see* "Laura Adams Armer: California Photographer," 129-139
 Armer, Sidney, 135; port., 131
 Arrillaga, José Joaquín, 265
 Art and Artists, *see* "Eat Me and Grow Young!: Orange Crate Art in the Golden State," 52-71; "From the Place We Hear About . . .": A Descriptive Check List of Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection," 346-367; "Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter: The Dual Art of Maynard Dixon," 290-309
 Art, commercial, 52-71 *passim*
 Aspinwall, William H., 109, 110
 Association of Community Chests and Councils, 310
 As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815, ed. by Maynard Geiger, rev., 179-180
 Austin, Mary, 304
 Baggelmann, Ted., rev. of Smith, ed., Sketches of Old Sacramento, 378-379
 Bailey, Philip G., 72, 74
 Bailey, Theodorus, 112
 Baird, Joseph A., Jr., 350, 351
 Baja California, 250-269 *passim*
 Baker, George H., 348, 354
 Baldwin, E. J. "Lucky," 295
 Baptist Circular (newsp.), 199
 Baptist Pacific Banner (pub.), 196
 Barbastro, Antonio, 260, 262
 Barger, Bob and Julian Nava, California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts, rev., 83
 Bartlett, Washington A., 120
 "Basha Singerman, Comrade of Petaluma," by Zelda Bronstein and Kenneth Kann, 20-33
 Batchelder, George A., 320
 Bateman, Kate, port., 13
 Bates, Charles, 72, 74
 Bay Area Houses, ed. by Sally Woodbridge, rev., 180-181
 Beale, Edward Fitzgerald, 104, 109-112; port., 111
 Bean, Lowell J., rev. of Grant. The Rock Paintings of the Chumash: A Study of the California Indian Culture, 187
 Beatty, W. H., 135
 Beilharz, Edwin A., and Carlos U. López, editors, We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush, rev., 88-89
 Bell, Peter, 34, 45
 Bender, Albert, 307
 Benham, Calhoun, 105
 Benton, Thomas Hart, 99
 "Bibliography of West Coast Religious Newspapers to 1865," 207-208
 Bidwell, John, 332, 338-339
 "Big Four," 335
 Blackford, Mansel G., The Politics of Business in California, 1898-1920, rev., 371-372
 Blacks, *see* "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," 34-45
 Blacks in the West, by W. Sherman Savage, rev., 280-281
 Blumberg, Max, 31-32
 Boggs, John, 332
 Bohemian Club, San Francisco, 294, 295, 307
 Boring, Jesse, 199
 Boruck, Marcus, 333
 Bosqui, Edward, 348
 Boutelle, Sara Holmes, rev. of Riess, ed., The Julia Morgan Architectural History Project, 279-280
 Bradley, H. S., 74
 Bradley, W. Henry, 4
 Brady, Thomas A., 200, 205
 Branion, R. C., 322, 323, 324, 325
 Brayton, Isaac H., 197, 203
 Bremer, Anne, 135; port., 134
 Brent, Joseph Lancaster, 105
 Bridge, Howard, 135
 Briggs, M. C., 198, 201, 202, 206
 British Columbia, *see* "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," 34-45
 Britton, Joseph, 348, 353; *see also* Britton & Rey
 Britton & Rey, 350, 353
 Broderick, David C., 99, 101-103
 Broderick & Kohler, 103
 Bronstein, Zelda and Kenneth Kann, "Basha Singerman, Comrade of Petaluma," 20-33
 Brookes, Samuel Marsden, 74-75
 Brown, Grafton T., 354
 Brown, Samuel W., 72, 75
 Brownlee, Aleta, 314, 324, 325
 Brunswick Company, 80
 Bryant, Sturgis & Company, 75
 Bucareli y Ursúa, Antonio María, 252-258 *passim*

- Burgess, Charles, 211, 213, 227
 Burgess, Edward, 211, 213, 227
 Burgess, George, 211, 213, 218, 227
 Burgess, Hubert F., 227; port., 228
 Burgess, William Hubert, *see* "California is Quite a Different Place Now: The Gold Rush Letters and Sketches of William Hubert Burgess," 210-229; port., 224
 Burnett, Peter, 38
By the Sweat of the Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940, by Mark Reisler, rev., 184
 Byron (vessel), 213
- Cable Car Days in San Francisco*, by Edgar Myron Kahn, rev., 184-186
 Cacho, Rafael, 113
 Calaveras County, 219, 222
 "California and the Colleges," by John R. Thelin, Part I, 140-163, Part II, 230-249
 "California Check List," by Gary F. Kurutz, 90-91, 189-190, 284-285, 380-381
California Christian Advocate (newsp.), 198, 202-203, 205, 206
California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts, by Julian Nava and Bob Barger, rev., 83-84
 California Fruit Growers Exchange, 54, 63, 67
 California Historical Society Collections, *see* "Day-by-Day Records: Diaries from the California Historical Society Library," Part II, 72-81; "From the Place We Hear About . . . : A Descriptive Check List of Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection," 346-367
California Historymakers, by Alan A. Hyn-ding, rev., 83-84
 California Immigrant Union, 232
 California Institute of Technology (CAL-TECH), 232, 244, 245
 "California is Quite a Different Place Now: the Gold Rush Letters and Sketches of William Hubert Burgess," by Gary F. Kurutz, 210-229
 California Land Commission, 104, 105
The California of George Gordon and the 1849 Sea Voyages of his California Association, by Albert Shumate, rev., 177-178
 California State Agricultural Society, 329, 332
 California State Railroad Commission, 334
- Callis, Agustín, 252, 258
 Callis, *see* Fages, Mrs. Pedro
 Cameron, Julia Margaret, 129
 Canon, G. Q., 201
 Cantero (vessel), 79
 "Carpetbaggers Join the Rush for California Land," by Paul W. Gates, 98-127
 Carr, Ezra S., 341
 Carr, Jesse D., 107-108
 Carroll, Katharine R., 75
 Carson, William McKendree, 75
 Caswell, John E., rev. of Latta, *Saga of Rancho El Tejón*, 375
 Catalan Volunteers, 250-269 *passim*
Catholic Monitor (newsp.), 202, 205
Catholic Standard (newsp.), 200
 Cenizo, Enrique, 259
 Central Pacific Railroad, 334, 335, 337
 Chabot children, port., 130
 "The Challenge to Philanthropy: Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932," by Ronald L. Nye, 310-327
 Chase, Harold S., 312-324 *passim*
 Cheney, David B., 199, 201, 205
 Chicken ranching, *see* "Basha Singerman: Comrade of Petaluma," 20-33
 Chinatown Gentleman, photo., 133
 Chinese in California, 197, 204, 337-339
Christian Observer (newsp.), 199
 Choris, Louis, 352
 Choy, Philip P., rev. of Gee *et al*, *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, 370-371
 Cisneros, Pascual de, 254
 Citizens' Employment Committee, Santa Barbara, 314, 315
 Citrus Industry, *see* "Eat Me and Grow Young!: Orange Crate Art in the Golden State," 52-71 *passim*
 C. J. Marshall (vessel), 81
 Claremont Graduate School, 153-162 *passim*
 Claremont College, 230-232
 Clark, P. G., 4
 Clark, Thomas D., ed., *Off at Sunrise: The Overland Journals of Charles Glass Gray*, rev., 183
 Clifford, Nathan, 107
 Clift, Frederick, 350
 Clift Hotel, San Francisco, 350
 Clipper Gap Iron Mines, 81
 Coleman, George P., 75
 Colfax, Schuyler, 201
- College of Agriculture, 340, 341
 College Heights Association, Claremont, 63
 College of the Pacific, 150, 234, 235, 238
 Colleges in California, *see* "California and the Colleges," Part I, 140-163, Part II, 230-249
Colonial Russian America: Kyril T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832, by Basil Dmytryshyn and E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan, rev., 178-179
 Colorado River (1770's), 250-263 *passim*
 Colored People of the State of California (1859), 41
 Colton, Walter, 112, 114, 115
 Columbia (vessel), 39
 "Comics and Cels: The Walt Disney Archives," by David R. Smith, 270-274
 Commercial Hotel, Stockton, 167
 Commodore (vessel), 39, 40
 The Community Arts Association, Santa Barbara, 311
 The Community Chest, Santa Barbara, 316, 319
 Community Employment Bureau, Santa Barbara, 315-325 *passim*
Comprises of Conflicting Claims: A Century of California Law, 1760-1860, by Richard R. Powell, rev., 368-370
Condemned to the Mines: The Life of Eugene O'Connell, 1815-1891, Pioneer Bishop of Northern California and Nevada, by John T. Dwyer, rev., 187-188
 Conmy, Peter Thomas, rev. of Dwyer, *Condemned to the Mines: The Life of Eugene O'Connell, 1815-1891, Pioneer Bishop of Northern California and Nevada*, 187-188
 Conrat, Maisie and Richard, *The American Farm: A Photographic History*, rev., 175
Contentious Consul: A Biography of John Coffin Jones, by Ross H. Gast, rev., 281-282
 Cook, Sherburne F., *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970*, rev., 84-85
 Coombs, Fred, 4
 Cooper, George, 354
 Cooper, John B. R., 115
 Coppa's, San Francisco, 293
 Corbalan, Pedro, 258
 Corlies, Emma, 73, 75
 Cornell University, 170
 Cornwallis, Kinahan, 41
Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America, ed. by Emma Gee *et al*, rev., 370-371

- Couts, Cave Johnson, 119
 Cox, Frederick, 339
 Creigh, Dorothy Weyer, *A Primer for Local Historical Societies*, rev., 89
 Cressman, L. S., *Preshistory of the Far West: Homes of Vanished Peoples*, rev., 376-377
 Cridge, Edward, 40
 Crocker, C. Templeton, 350
 Croix, Teodoro de, 256-264 *passim*
 Crownhart-Vaughan, E.A.P., and Basil Dmytryshyn, *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*, rev., 178-179
 Crump, Spencer, rev. of Myers and Swett, *Trolleys to the Surf: The Story of the Los Angeles Pacific Railway, 186-187*
 Cunningham, Imogen, 128, 132
- Daguerreotypes, see "Likenesses Taken in the Most Approved Style: William Shew, Pioneer Daguerreotypist," 2-19
Daily Colonist (newsp.), 41
 Dartmouth University, 140, 142, 146
 Davis, Lenwood G., rev. of Savage, *Blacks in the West*, 280-281
 Davis, W. N. Jr., rev. of Powell, *Comprises of Conflicting Claims: A Century of California Law, 1760-1860*, 368-370
 Davisville, Calif., 341
 "Day-by-Day Records: Diaries from the CHS Library," comp. by Lynn Bonfield
 Donovan, Part II, 72-81
 "Deluxe Accommodations: Stockton's Yo Semite House Hotel, 1868-1923," by Ronald Rayman, 164-169
 del Valle, Ignacio, 111
 Depression, see "The Challenge to Philanthropy: Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932," 310-327
 Derby, George H., 119
Deutsche Exil-literatur seit 1933, Teil I. Kalifornien, ed. by John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka, rev., 377
 Dicker, Laverne Mau, "Laura Adams Armer: California Photographer," 129-139; rev. of Palmquist, *With Nature's Children: Emma B. Freeman (1880-1928), Camera and Brush*, 282-283
 Dickson, Jack F., 72, 75
 Dickson, Lillian, 73, 75
- Dillon, Richard, *Images of Chinatown: Louis J. Stellman's Chinatown Photographs*, rev. 182-183; rev. of Gast, *Contentious Consul: A Biography of John Coffin Jones*, 281-282
 Dimmick, Kimball Hale, 72, 75
 Discrimination, see "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," 34-45; see also Racism
 Disney, Roy, 272; photo., 271
 Disney, Walt, see "Comics and Cels: The Walt Disney Archives," 270-274; photos., 271, 273
 Dixon, Constance, 291, 295
 Dixon, Harry St. John, 290
 Dixon, Maynard, see "Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter: The Dual Art of Maynard Dixon," 290-309
 Dixon, Mrs. Maynard (Edith Hamlin), 290, 295, 308, 309
 Dmytryshyn, Basil and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*, rev., 178-179
 Dominis, John, 72, 73, 75
 Donovan, Lynn Bonfield, "Day-by-Day Records: Diaries from the CHS Library," Part II, 72-81; rev. of Gray, *Women of the West*, 85-86; rev. of Richey, *Eminent Women of the West*, 85-86
 Douglas, Frederick, 204
 Douglas, James, 38, 40, 43; port., 38
 Douglas, John W., 197
 Dresel, Emil, 348
 Dwyer, John T., *Condemned to the Mines: The Life of Eugene O'Connell, 1815-1891, Pioneer Bishop of Northern California and Nevada*, rev., 187-188
- Eastin, Thomas N., 75
 "Eat Me and Grow Young!: Orange Crate Art in the Golden State," by Laurie Gordon and John Salkin, 52-71
 Eckman, Julius, 200
 Edmunds, A. C., 200
 Education, see "California and the Colleges," Part I, 140-163, Part II, 230-249
 Edwards, Malcolm, "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," 34-45
- Egan, Ferol, *Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation*, rev., 277-278; rev. of Regnery, *An Enduring Heritage: Historical Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula, 180-181*; rev. of Woodbridge, *Bay Area Houses, 180-181*
 Elizondo, Domingo, 252, 253, 257
 Ellery, Epes, 73, 76, 77
El Principe (vessel), see *San Antonio* (vessel)
 Elsasser, Albert B., rev. of Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970*, 84-85; rev. of Cressman, *Preshistory of the Far West: Homes of Vanished Peoples*, 376-377
 Emergency Unemployment Fund Committee, Santa Barbara, 315-316, 319, 325
 Emerson, Peter Henry, 131
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 7
Eminent Women of the West, by Elinor Richey, rev., 85-86
Emphrainoa (vessel), 80
 Enloe, Rachel, 73, 76
Evangel (newsp.), 205
- Fages, Eulalia Callis (Mrs. Pedro Fages), 258, 264, 265
 Fages, María del Carmen, 264
 Fages, Don Pedro, see "Light Cast upon Shadows: The Non-California Years of Don Pedro Fages," 250-269
 Fages, Pedro José Fernando "Pedito," 258, 264
 "Farm Gentry vs. the Grangers: Conflict in Rural California," by Gerald L. Prescott, 328-345
 Farnham, Eliza, 74
 Farquharson, David, 135
 "Father Serra Plans the Founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano," by Ynez Violé O'Neill, 46-51
 Felch, Alpheus, 104, 105
 Felt, Thomas E., *Researching, Writing and Publishing Local History*, rev., 89
 Fernald, R. G., 312, 319
 Ferrell, Robert N., 76
 Fine, Doris R., rev., of Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1835-1975*, 176-177
 Firks, Henry, 353
 First Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, 197
 Fisher, Orceneth, 199

- Fisher, William, 330-333
 Fitzgerald, Oscar P., 199, 202, 205
 Fleischmann, Max C., 312, 315, 316, 320
 Folsom, Joseph, 100, 115, 120
 Fontana, Bernard L., and Daniel S. Matson, editors, *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, rev., 373-374
 Football, 240-245
 Forbes, James Alexander, 109
 Fort Tejón, 110-111; photo., 112
 Fortuna, Calif., 136
 Foster, Stephen Clark, 119
 Foster and Kleiser, 302-303
 Francis, Jacob, 41
 Fraser, Isabel, 293
 Freedman, Bill, 31
 Freeman, Martin H., 204
 Frémont, John Charles, 99, 101, 207
Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation, by Ferol Egan, rev., 277-278
 Frémont Mining and Trading Company, 75
 Fresno, Calif., 290, 304
Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, edited by Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, rev., 373-374
 Frisbie, John B., 119
 "From the Place We Hear About . . . : A Descriptive Check List of Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection," by Catherine Hoover and Robert Sawchuck, 346-367
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 145
 Gallagher, Hugh Patrick, 200
 Galvez, José de, 251, 252, 253, 254
 Garnett, Porter, 293, 294
 Garr, Daniel J., rev. of Matson and Fontana, eds., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, 373-374
 Gast, Ross H., *Contentious Consul: A Biography of John Coffin Jones*, rev., 281-282
 Gates, Paul Wallace, "Carpetbaggers Join the Rush for California Land," 98-127; see "Paul Wallace Gates, Historian of Public Land Policy," 170-174
 Gebhard, David, rev. of Makinson, Greene & Greene: *Architecture as a Fine Art*, 278-279
 Gee, Emma, et al, *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, rev., 370-371
- Geiger, Maynard, ed., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815*, rev., 179-180; see "In Memoriam," 275-276
 Genthe, Arnold, 132, 304
 George, Henry, 172, 173, 336
 George Champlin (vessel), 74, 80
 Giant Powder Works, San Francisco, 81
 Gibbs, Miffin Wister, port., 40, 44
 Gifford, C. B., 348, 354
 Gilman, Daniel Coit, 341
 Gjoa (vessel), 80
The Gleaner (newsp.), 200
 Goddard, G. H., 354, 355
 Gold Rush, see "California is Quite a Different Place Now: The Gold Rush Letters and Sketches of William Hubert Burgess," 210-229; "From the Place We Hear About . . . : A Descriptive Check List of Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection," 346-367
Golden Age (vessel), 39
 Gómez, Vincent, 107
 Gordon, Laurie and John Salkin, "Eat Me and Grow Young! Orange Crate Art in the Golden State," 52-71
 The Grangers, see "Farm Gentry vs. the Grangers: Conflict in Rural California," 328-345
 Grant, Campbell, *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash: A Study of the California Indian Culture*, rev., 187
 Grant, Ulysses S., 168-169
 Gray, David, 312
 Gray, Dorothy, *Women of the West*, rev., 85-86
 Green, Talbot F., 113
 Greene & Greene: *Architecture as a Fine Art*, by Randall L. Makinson, rev., 278-279
 Griffin, John S., 119, 197
 Guerin, Jules, 302
 Guerra, Pablo de la, 115
 Gwin, David C., 100, 101; port., 101
 Gwin, Mary E. H., 100
 Gwin, William M., 99
- Hafen, LeRoy R., *The Overland Mail 1849-1869: Promoters of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads*, rev., 378
- Haight, Henry H., 79
 Halleck, Henry W., 109, 115
 Hamlin, Edith (Mrs. Maynard Dixon), 290, 295, 308, 309
 Hardeman, Nicholas Perkins, *Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900*, rev., 374-375
 Harlan, Jacob W., 109
 Hartnell, William E. P., 116
 Haskell, Henrietta (Mrs. William Hubert Burgess), 227
 Hawks, Nelson Crocker, 73, 76
 Hayes, W. E., 76
The Hebrew (newsp.), 200, 202, 205
Hebrew Observer (newsp.), 200
 Henley, Thomas J., 104, 105
Herald of the Morning (newsp.), 201
Herald of Truth (newsp.), 199
 Hetherington, Joseph, 110
 Higley, Horace A., 105
 Hinma, Loma (Hopi), 298
 Hitchcock, Ethan Allen, 120
 Hochman, Ben, 29
 Hochman, Nathan, 29
 Hochman, Sam, 29
 Hochman, Sara, 29-30
 Hoffman, Bernhard, 312
 Hoffman, Ogden, 106
 Homestead Act of 1862, 171
 Honeyman, Mr. & Mrs. Robert, Jr., 46, 350
 Hoover, Catherine and Robert Sawchuck, "From the Place We Hear About . . . : A Descriptive Check List of Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection," 346-367
 Hotels, see "Deluxe Accommodations: Stockton's Yo Semite House Hotel, 1869-1923," 164-169
 Howard, Volney E., 105-106
 Howell, Mrs. John, 135
 Hubbell, J. L., 298
 Hutchings, James M., 350
 Hyde, George, 110
 Hynding, Alan A., *California Historymakers*, rev., 83-84
- Images of Chinatown: Louis J. Stellman's Chinatown Photographs*, by Richard Dillon, rev., 182-183

- "In Memoriam: Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M.," by Doyce B. Numis, Jr., 275-276
 Interstate Commerce Act (1887), 334
 Irwin, Wallace, 293
 Irwin, Will, 293
 Isleta Pueblo, New Mex., 298
Itasca (vessel), 74
- Jabotinsky Battalion (Jewish Zionists), 27
 Jackman, Jarrell C., rev. of Spalek and Strelka, eds. *Deutsche Exil-literatur seit 1933. Teil I. Kalifornien*, 377
 Jackson, W. Turrentine, rev. of Egan, *Freemont: Explorer for a Restless Nation*, 277-278
 Jacoby, Philo, 200, 205
James W. Paige (vessel), 77
 Jameson, John A., 316
Jane Parker (vessel), 75
 Jeffers, Robinson, 296, 298
 Jewish Community Center, Petaluma, 20
 Jewish Women's Reading Circle, Petaluma, 32-33
 Jews, see "Basha Singerman: Comrade of Petaluma," 20-33
 Jimeno, Manuel, 119
 Johnson, Andrew, 201
 Johnson, Pen, 38
 Johnston, Frances Benjamin, 129
 Johnston, T. M., 198
 Jones, J. Wesley, 8
 Jones, Thomas ap Catesby, 120-122 *passim*
 Jordan, David Starr, 296
The Julia Morgan Architectural History Project, ed. by Suzanna Riess, rev., 279-280
- Kahn, Edgar Myron, *Cable Car Days in San Francisco*, rev., 184-186
 Kamehameha I, 213
 Kamen, Dvora, 32
 Kan, Lee, 197
 Kann, Kenneth and Zelda Bronstein, "Basha Singerman: Comrade of Petaluma," 20-33
 Kasebier, Gertrude, 129
 Kearney, Denis, 333
 Keith, William, 294
 Kellogg, George J., 73, 76
 Kemble, Edward C., 120, 194
 Kennedy, Edward, 43
- Kenya, Africa, 23, 24
 Kerr, Clark, 156, 158
 Keyes, E. D., 115-116
 Kirby, Georgiana Bruce, 74, 75, 76
 Kirstein, Peter N., *Anglo over Bracero: A History of the Mexican Worker in the United States from Roosevelt to Nixon*, rev., 282
 Knapp, George O., 316
 Koch, Augustus, 354
 Koppel, Charles, 355
 Kuchel, Charles, 348, 353
 Kuchel & Dresel, 353
 Kurutz, Gary F., "California Check List," 90-91, 189-190, 284-285, 380-381; "California is Quite a Different Place Now: The Gold Rush Letters and Sketches of William Hubert Burgess," 210-229; rev. of Weber, ed., *Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial*, 87-88
- Labor & Laborers, see "The Challenge to Philanthropy: Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932," 310-327
 LaFarge, Oliver, 304
 Lamson, Joseph, 73
 Lamson, Joseph (James), 77
 Land Act of 1851, 100
Land of Sunshine (pub.), 296
 Land policies, see "Paul Wallace Gates, Historian of Public Land Policy," 170-174
 Land speculators, see "Carpentbaggers Join the Rush for California Land," 98-127
 Lange, Dorothea (Mrs. Maynard Dixon), 295, 298, 305, 308
 Lapham, Roger D., Sr., 350
 Larkin, Thomas Oliver, 108-109, 113
 Lasuén, Fermín Francisco de, 47, 49
 Latta, Frank F., *Saga of Rancho El Tejón*, rev., 375
 "Laura Adams Armer: California Photographer," by Laverne Mau Dicker, 129-139
Laurentiana (vessel), 252, 253
 Lawrence, D. H., 304
 Lee, Archy, 37-38, 39
 Leidesdorff, William A., 109, 115
 Letter Heads, see "From the Place We Hear About . . .," 346-367
 Levin, Sol, 30
 Levy, M. S., 200
- Lewis, Austin, 135
 Lewis, Edward M., 77
 "Light Cast upon Shadows: The Non-California Years of Don Pedro Fages," by Donald A. Nuttall, 250-269
 "Like a Thousand Preachers Flying: Religious Newspapers on the Pacific Coast to 1865," by Wesley Norton, 194-209
 Lithographs, see: "From the Place We Hear About . . .," 346-67
 Locke, Dean J., 72, 78
 Loftis, Anne and Dick Meister, *A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers*, rev., 372-373
 Logan, John Quincy Adams, 78
 London, Jack, 292
A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers, by Dick Meister and Anne Loftis, rev., 372-373
 López, Carlos U., and Edwin A. Beilharz, eds., *We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush*, rev., 88-89
 Lugo, José del Carmen, 110
 Lugo, María Merced, 119
 Lumière, August, 135
 Lumière, Louis, 135
 Lummis, Charles Fletcher, 296, 297-298, 302
 Lyman, Chester Smith, 78
- McArthur, Seonaid, rev., of Creigh, *A Primer for Local Historical Societies*, 89; rev. of Felt, *Researching, Writing and Publishing Local History*, 89
 McBride, J. C., 78
 McCarver, M. M., 36
 McClaughry, Mrs. Anita Baldwin, 295, 298
 McGlynn, John A., 103
 McIntyre, S. C., 4
 Macfie, Matthew, 39
 Madden, Henry Miller, rev. of Schoenman, editors, Xántus, *Travels in Southern California*, 368
 Makinson, Randall L., *Greene & Greene: Architecture as a Fine Art*, rev., 278-279
 Mann, Henry Rice, 78
 Marin County, map, 102
 Mariposa, Calif., photos., 107, 108
 Mark Hopkins Hotel, San Francisco, 304
 Martin, Noble, 72, 78
 Martínez, Elsie Whitaker, 136

- Martinez, Xavier, 293, 294
Marysville Herald (newsp.), 107
 Mason, Richard B., 112, 122
 Massachusetts Mining Company, 81
 Mathes, W. Michael, rev. of Geiger, *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815*, 179-180
 Mathews, Arthur F., port., 135
 Matson, Daniel S., and Bernard L. Fontana, editors, *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796-97*, rev., 373-374
 Mattoon, C. H., 199, 201, 205
 Maynard, Lafayette, 290
 Meier, Matt S., rev. of Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940*, 184
 Meister, Dick and Anne Loftis, *A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers*, rev., 372-373
 Mellus, Henry, 120
 Mendenhall, O. T., 146
 Meneuchin, Louis, 27
 Menuhin, Yehudi, 27
 Messner, Sam, 20
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 198-199
 Methodist University of the Pacific, 202
 Mexican-Americans, Santa Barbara, 232-324
 Meyer, Yitzhak, 29
 Michetti, Othello, 54
 Mikesell, Stephen D., rev. of Hafen, *The Overland Mail 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads*, 378
 Milner, Joseph, 78
 Minsk, Russia, 21, 22, 23, 24
Mirror of the Dream: An Illustrated History of San Francisco, by T. H. Watkins and R. R. Olmsted, rev., 82-84
 Mission San Diego, 47, 49
 Mission San Gabriel, 259, 261, 262, 263
 Mission San Juan Capistrano, see "Father Serra Plans the Founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano," 46-51
 Mission Santa Barbara, 275-276
 Missroon, John S., 109, 113
 Mitchell, John J., 316
 Mizner, Abe, 26
 Mokelumne Hill Camp, 214, 220, 223
The Monitor (San Francisco Catholic Monitor), 196, 200
 Montecito Roadside Committee, 324
 Monterey, 112-115
 Montgomery, John B., 109
 Morrill Act (1862), 341
 Motion Picture Industry, see "Comics and Cels: The Walt Disney Archives," 270-274
 Mount Lowe: *The Railway in the Clouds*, by Charles Seims, rev., 184-186
 Mucha, Alphonse, 54
 Murphy, Dwight, 312, 315, 319, 325
 Mutual Litho Company, 53
 Muybridge, Eadweard, 17
 Myers, William A., and Ira L. Swett, *Trolleys to the Surf: The Story of the Los Angeles Pacific Railway*, rev., 186-187
 Myrick, David F., rev. of Kahn, *Cable Car Days in San Francisco, 184-186*; rev. of Seims, *Mount Lowe: The Railway in the Clouds, 184-186*
 Nadeau, Remi, *The Real Joaquín Murieta: Robin Hood Hero or Gold Rush Gangster?* rev., 86-87
 Nagel, Louis, 348
 Nahl, Arthur, 348
 Nahl, Charles, 348
 Nairobi, Africa, 21
 Nasatir, A. P., rev. of Beilharz and López, editors, *We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush, 88-89*
 Nazis, in California, 29-30
 Negroes, see "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," 34-45
 Neligh, Robert B., 109
 Neve, Felipe de, 251-264 *passim*
 Newspapers, see "Like a Thousand Preachers Flying: Religious Newspapers on the Pacific Coast," 194-209
 Nielson, H. T., 319, 320
 Norton, Erastus Harmon, 79
 Norton, Wesley, "Like a Thousand Preachers Flying: Religious Newspapers on the Pacific Coast to 1865," 194-209
 Nunis, Doyce B., Jr., "In Memoriam: Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M.," 275-276
 Nuttall, Donald A., "Light Cast upon Shadows: The Non-California Years of Don Pedro Fages," 250-269
 Nye, Ronald L., "The Challenge to Philanthropy: Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932," 310-327
 Oakland Museum, 297
 O'Brien, C. Bickford, rev. of Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan, *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832, 178-179*
 Occidental College, Los Angeles, 151, 152, 158, 232-233, 238, 240
Off at Sunrise: The Overland Journals of Charles Glass Gray, ed. by Thomas D. Clark, rev., 183
 Ogier, I. S. K., 106
 Olmsted, R. R., and T. H. Watkins, *Mirror of the Dream: An Illustrated History of San Francisco*, rev., 82-84
 O'Neill, Ynez Violé, "Father Serra Plans the Founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano," 46-51
 Orange Crate Art, see "Eat Me and Grow Young!: Orange Crate Art in the Golden State," 52-71
 Ord, Edward O. C., 106, 107, 116
 Ord, James, 106, 116-119 *passim*
 Ord, Pacificus, 106
Oregon American (newsp.), 201
Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist (pub.), 197
Oregon Churchman (pub.), 200
Oriental (newsp.) (*Tung-ngai san-luk*), 197, 204
 Orion (vessel), 74
The Overland Mail 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads, by LeRoy R. Hafen, rev., 378
The Overland Monthly (pub.), 292
 Owyhee (vessel), 73, 75
Pacific Appeal (newsp.), 44
Pacific Banner (newsp.), 199
Pacific Christian Advocate (newsp.), 197-204 *passim*
Pacific Cumberland Presbyterian (pub.), 198
Pacific Expositor (newsp.), 198, 199, 205
Pacific Methodist (newsp.), 199, 205
Pacific Recorder (newsp.), 199, 201
 Pacific States Type Foundry, 76
 Page, Bacon & Company, 79

- Page, Frank W. (Francis), 73, 79
 "Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter: The Dual Art of Maynard Dixon," by Kevin Starr, 290-309
 Palma, Salvador, 259
 Palmquist, Peter E., *With Nature's Children: Emma B. Freeman (1880-1928), Camera and Brush*, rev., 282-283
 Palóu, Francisco, 263
 Panama (vessel), 79
 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915), 302, 304
 Partridge, Sam C., 73, 79
 Patigian, Haig, 307
 Patrons of Husbandry, *see* Grangers
 "Paul Wallace Gates, Historian of Public Land Policy," by Joseph M. Petulla, 170-174
 Pearne, Thomas A., 201-202, 204
 Peck, Julia S., 76
 Peixotto, Ernest, 294
 Peralta, Vicente, 100
 Petaluma, Calif., *see* "Basha Singerman: Comrade of Petaluma," 20-33; photo., 25
 Peters, Charles Rollo, 294
 Peters, Harry T., Sr., 350
 Petulla, Joseph M., "Paul Wallace Gates, Historian of Public Land Policy," 170-174
 Phelan, James Duval, 294
 Photographers & Photography, *see* "Laura Adams Armer: California Photographer," 129-139; "Likenesses Taken in the Most Approved Style: William Shew, Pioneer Daguerreotypist," 2-19
 Photographic Artists Association, 10
 Piazzoni, Gottardo, 293
 Pickens, William H., rev. of Blackford, *The Politics of Business in California, 1898-1920*, 371-372
 Pierce, Franklin, 104, 105, 106
 Pitt, Leonard, rev. of Nadeau, *The Real Joaquín Murieta: Robin Hood Hero or Gold Rush Gangster?* 86-87
 Poetry, *see* "Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter: The Dual Art of Maynard Dixon," 290-309
 Pointer, Nathan, 43
 Pointer, Sarah, 43
 Politics, *see* "Carpetbaggers Join the Rush for California Land," 98-127
The Politics of Business in California, 1898-1920, by Mansel G. Blackford, rev., 371-372
 Pollard & Britton, 355
 Pomona College, Calif., 146-155 *passim*, 232
The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970, by Sherburne F. Cook, rev., 84-85
 Porter, David Dixon, 79
 Portolà, Gaspar de, 251, 253
 Poultry Producers Cooperative, 31
 Powell, Richard R., *Comprises of Conflicting Claims: A Century of California Law, 1750-1860*, rev., 368-370
Prehistory of the Far West: Homes of Vanished Peoples, by L. S. Cressman, rev., 376-377
 Prescott, Gerald L., "Farm Gentry vs. the Grangers: Conflict in Rural California," 328-345
 President's Emergency Committee for Employment, 310
 President's Organization on Unemployment Relief (POUR), 319, 324-325
 Price, Rodman, 112-113
A Primer for Local Historical Societies, by Dorothy Weyer Creigh, rev., 89
 Public lands, *see* "Paul Wallace Gates, Historian of Public Land Policy," 170-174
 Putnam, Charles F., 200-201
 Quirot and Company, 350
 Racism, *see* "Basha Singerman, Comrade in Petaluma," 20-33 *passim*; "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," 34-45
 Rafferty, Max, 160
 Rancho Campo de los Franceses, 116
 Rancho La Liebre, 111
 Rancho Nicasio, 115
 Rancho Pinole, 100
 Rancho San Antonio, Alameda County, 100
 Rancho Santa Anita, 295
 Randall, Andrew, 110
 Rawls, James J., rev. of Clark, ed., *Off at Sunrise: The Overland Journals of Charles Glass Gray*, 183; rev. of Hardeman, *Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900*, 374-375
 Rayman, Ronald, "Deluxe Accommodations: Stockton's Yo Semite House Hotel: 1869-1923," 164-169
The Real Joaquín Murieta: Robin Hood Hero or Gold Rush Gangster? by Remi Nadeau, rev., 86-87
 Regnery, Dorothy F., *An Enduring Heritage: Historical Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula*, rev., 180-181
 Reisler, Mark, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940*, rev., 184
 Religions, *see* "Like a Thousand Preachers Flying: Religious Newspapers on the Pacific Coast to 1865," 194-209
Religious Expositor (newsp.), 199, 205
 Religious newspapers, *see* "Bibliography of West Coast Religious Newspapers to 1865," 207-208
 Remington, Frederic, 291, 302, 304
Researching, Writing and Publishing Local History, by Thomas E. Felt, rev., 89
 Revere, Joseph Warren, 113
 Rey, J. J., 348, 353
 Rhodes, Eugene Manlove, 302
 Richard, Fortune, 43
 Richardson, Joel, 79
 Richardson, William A., 100
 Richey, Elinor, *Eminent Women of the West*, rev., 85-86
 Riess, Suzanna, ed., *The Julia Morgan Architectural History Project*, rev., 279-280
 Riley, Bennett, 112
 Ristvedt, Peder P., 80
 Rivera, Diego, 307
 Rivera y Moncada, Fernando, 47, 253, 256, 259
 Robinson, Boardman, port., 130
 Robinson, H. P., 131
 Robinson, W. W., 276
The Rock Paintings of the Chumash: A Study of the California Indian Culture, by Campbell Grant, rev., 187
 Romeú, José Antonio, 261-265 *passim*
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 305-306, 310
 Ross, Charles L., 120
 Ruef, Abraham, 145
 Rulofson, William, 4
 Russ House, Stockton, 167
 Russell (vessel), 75
 Russia (1900's), 20, 21, 22, 23

- Saalburg, William, 200
 Saanich, Vancouver Island, 42
 Sacramento Valley, 337, 338
Saga of Rancho El Tejón, by Frank F. Latta, rev., 375
 St. Mary's College, 234
 Salkin, John and Laurie Gordon, "Eat Me and Grow Young! Orange Crate Art in the Golden State," 52-71
 Salt Spring Island, Brit. Columbia, 39
 Salvation Army, Santa Barbara, 316, 320-325 *passim*
San Antonio (vessel), 252
 San Blas, 253, 256
San Carlos (vessel), 252
 San Francisco (1847), maps, 117, 118; (1915) 292, 295; see "Likenesses Taken in the Most Approved Style: William Shew, Pioneer Daguerreotypist," 2-19
San Francisco Alta California (newsp.), 3
 San Francisco Art Institute, 129
San Francisco Californian (newsp.), 120, 121
San Francisco Catholic Monitor (pub.), 196, 200
San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle, 40
San Francisco Examiner (newsp.), 292, 293
San Francisco Morning Call (newsp.), 292
San Francisco Pacific Appeal (newsp.), 34
 San Francisco Photographic Artists Association, 8
 San Francisco Zion Church, 39
 San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Society, 334
Santa Barbara Daily News (newsp.), 314
Santa Barbara Morning Press (newsp.), 312, 319
 Sarbin, Eva, 33
 Sargent, Aaron A., 337
 Savage, W. Sherman, *Blacks in the West*, rev., 280-281
 Sawchuck, Robert and Catherine Hoover, "From the Place We Hear About . . . : A Descriptive Check List of Pictorial Lithographs and Letter Sheets in the CHS Collection," 346-367
 Saxton, J. B., 201
 Schmidt, Max, 53
 Schoenman, Helen Benedek and Theodore, eds., Xántus, *Travels in Southern California*, rev., 368
 Schoenman, Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman, eds., Xántus, *Travels in Southern California*, rev., 368
 Schulberg, Budd, 140
 Scott, William A., 197-198, 205
 Scripps College, 154
 Seims, Charles, *Mount Lowe: The Railway in the Clouds*, rev., 184-186
 Semple, Robert, 114, 150
 Senefelder, Alois, 348
 Seri Indians, 257, 259
 Serra, Junípero, 253-254, 263; see "Father Serra Plans the Founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano," 46-51
 Shafter, James, 335, 337
 Shannon, Julie, 4
 Sherman, Richard Mitchell, 72, 80
 Sherman, William Tecumseh, 108, 116, 122; port., 9
 Sherman Hotel, Stockton, 167
 Sherrill, E. M., 314-315
 Shew, Anna Margaret, 4, 5
 Shew, Annie K. Haven, 5, 17
 Shew, Jacob, 4, 8, 10, 11
 Shew, Laura, 4, 5
 Shew, Myron, 4, 5
 Shew, Trueman, 4
 Shew, William, see "Likenesses Taken in the Most Approved Style: William Shew, Pioneer Daguerreotypist," 2-19
 Shideler, James H., rev. of Conrat, *The American Farm: a Photographic History*, 175-176
 Shields, Peter J., 341
 Shubrick, W. Branford, 112
 Shuck, J. L., 199
 Shumate, Albert, *The California of George Gordon and the 1849 Sea Voyages of his California Association*, rev., 177-178
 Simonds, S. D., 198, 203-204
 Simpson, R. H., 320
Sinaloa (vessel), 253
 Singerman, Basha, see "Basha Singerman, Comrade of Petaluma," 20-33
 Singerman, Shimon, 20-30 *passim*
Sketches of Old Sacramento, ed. by Jesse M. Smith, rev., 378-379
 Sloan, G. C., 322
 Slossen, Edwin, 142-144, 150, 151, 156
 Slosson, Edwin, 240
 Smith, David R., "Comics and Cels: The Walt Disney Archives," 270-274
 Smith, Jesse M., ed., *Sketches of Old Sacramento*, rev., 378-379
 Smith, Page, 145
 Smith, Peter, 103
Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial, ed. by Francis J. Weber, rev., 87-88
 Sonora, Mex., 256, 258
 Spalek, John M., and Joseph Strelka, editors, *Deutsche Exil-literatur seit 1933. Teil I. Kalifornien*, rev., 377
 Speer, William, 197, 204
 Spencer, Hood, 319
Spiritualist (pub.), 201
 Stanford University, 142-157 *passim*, 240, 241
 Staniford, Edward, rev. of Hynding, *California Historymakers*, 83-84; rev. of Nava and Barger, *California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts*, 83-84
Star of the Pacific (newsp.), 200
 Starr, Kevin, "Painterly Poet, Poetic Painter: The Dual Art of Maynard Dixon," 290-309; rev. of Shumate, *The California of George Gordon and the 1849 Sea Voyages of his California Association*, 177-178
 Stearns, Abel, 110, 119
 Sterling, George, 293, 300
 Stevenson, Jonathan D., 120
 Stockton, Robert F., 108, 109
 Stockton, Calif., see "Deluxe Accommodations: Stockton's YoSemitic House Hotel, 1869-1923," 164-169
 Storke, Thomas M., 310, 314
 Stovall, C. A., 37-38
 Strelka, Joseph and John M. Spalek, editors, *Deutsche Exil-literatur seit 1933. Teil I. Kalifornien*, rev., 377
Sunset (pub.), 302
 Suscol Act of 1866, 173
 Swett, Ira L., and William A. Myers, *Trolleys to the Surf: The Story of the Los Angeles Pacific Railway*, rev., 186-187
 Swords, Thomas, 116
 Taber, I. W., 17
 Talbot, William Henry Fox, 129
 Taney, Roger B., 105
 Tate, James, 80
 Taylor, Paul, 305
 Terry, David S., 38, 122
 Thelin, John R., "California and the Col-

- leges," Part I, 140-163, Part II, 230-249
 Thomas, Eleazer, 201
 Thomas, J. L., 353
 Thorne, Mrs. Oakleigh, 316
 Thornton, Harry J., 106
 Throckmorton, S. R., 100
 Throop Institute, *see* California Institute of Technology
 Tibbets, Eliza, 52
 Tibbets, Luther, 52
 Tobey, Lillian West (Mrs. Maynard Dixon), 291-292, 295
 Toison de Oro (vessel), *see* San Carlos (vessel)
 Toklas, Max, port., 133
Travels in Southern California, by John Xántus, ed. by Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman, rev., 368
 Treadwell, Sophie, 291
Trolleys to the Surf: The Story of the Los Angeles Pacific Railway, by William A. Myers and Ira L. Swett, rev., 186-187
 Tueros, Pedro, 259, 261, 263, 264
Tung-ngai san-luk (newsp.), *see* *Oriental* (newsp.)
 Twist, Julia S. Peck, 74, 76, 80
- Ugalde, Juan, 264
 Unemployment, *see* "The Challenge to Philanthropy: Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932," 310-327
Union Crusader (newsp.), 200
 U.S.S. Congress (vessel), 110
 U.S.S. Cyane (vessel), 112, 113
 U.S.S. Portsmouth (vessel), 110
 University Farm School, 341
 University of California, Berkeley, *see* "California and the Colleges," Part I, 143-157 *passim*, Part II, 230-249 *passim*
 University of California at Los Angeles, *see* "California and the Colleges," Part I, 140-163 *passim*, 238-239, 240, 242, 248
 University of California at Santa Barbara, 233
 University of California at Santa Cruz, 159-162, 234
 University of Southern California, 147, 238, 241, 242, 247
 Ursúa, Antonio María Bucareli de, *see* Bucareli de Ursúa
- Vallejo, Mariano Guadalupe, 119
 Vancouver Island, Brit. Columbia, *see* "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," 34-45
 Vancouver Island Aliens Act, 41
 Varney, Jotham, 80
 Varney, María L., 73, 78, 80, port., 81
 Varney, Thomas, 73, 80-81, port., 80
 Vasquez, Archie, 54
 Veblen, Thorstein, 145
Victoria Daily Colonist (newsp.), 40, 41
Victoria Daily Press (newsp.), 43
Victoria Gazette (newsp.), 40
 Victoria Pioneer Rifle Corps, 43, 44; photo., 44
 Vincent, Joshua S., 72, 81
- Walt Disney Archives, *see* "Comics and Cels: The Walt Disney Archives," 270-274
 "The War of Complexional Distinction: Blacks in Gold Rush California and British Columbia," by Malcolm Edwards, 34-45
 Warner, William H., 109, 116, 120
 Warren, Daniel, 204
 Warren, J. H., 197
The Watchman (pub.), 197
 Watkins, T. H., and R. R. Olmsted, *Mirror of the Dream: An Illustrated History of San Francisco*, rev., 82-84
 Watmough, James, 113-114
We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush, edited by Edwin A. Beilharz and Carlos H. López, rev., 88-89
 Weber, Francis J., ed., *Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial*, rev., 87-88
 Weller, Charles L., 104
 Weller, John B., 99, 100-104 *passim*
Western Evangelist (pub.), 200
 Western Lithograph Company, 54
Western Standard (pub.), 201
 What Cheer House, Stockton, 167
 Wheeler, Benjamin Ide, 238
 Wheeler, Osgood C., 201
 Whittier College, Calif., 146-147
Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900, by Nicholas Perkins Hardeman, rev., 36: 374-375
- Wiles, Lemuel M., 51
 Williams, Albert, 197
 Williams, H. D. Timm, 148
 Williams, James, 44
 Williams, John L., 81
 Williams, Virgil, 294
 Willits, Calif., 25
 Windemere Ranch, Calif., 58
With Nature's Children: Emma B. Freeman (1880-1928), Camera and Brush, by Peter E. Palmquist, rev., 282-283
 Wolfskill, William, 52, 56
 Wollenberg, Charles M., *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975*, rev., 176-177; rev. of Dillon, *Images of Chinatown: Louis J. Stellman's Chinatown Photographs*, 182-183; rev. of Kirstein, *Anglo over Bracero: A History of the Mexican Worker in the United States from Roosevelt to Nixon*, 282; rev. of Meister and Loftis, *A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers*, 372-373; rev. of Watkins and Olmsted, *Mirror of the Dream: An Illustrated History of San Francisco*, 82-84
Women of the West, by Dorothy Gray, rev., 85-86
 Woodbridge, Sally, *Bay Area Houses*, rev., 180-181
 Woods, Arthur, 310
- Xántus, John, *Travels in Southern California*, ed. by Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman, rev., 368
- Yo Semite House, Stockton, *see* "Deluxe Accommodations: Stockton's YoSemite House Hotel, 1869-1923," 164-169; photos., 164, 166
 Young, George W., 81
 Yuma Indians, 259, 260, 261, 262
- Zipkin, Eli, 29

Members

CENTENNIAL

Mrs. Arthur Adkins, Santa Cruz
 Atlantic Richfield Co., Los Angeles
 Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
 Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
 Mr. & Mrs. R. Robert Bush,
 Santa Barbara
 Mr. George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco
 Mr. Fred Farr, Carmel
 Foremost-McKesson Foundation Inc.,
 San Francisco
 Mr. & Mrs. George Gund, San Francisco
 Hewlett Packard Co., Los Angeles
 Mr. & Mrs. Preston Hotchkis,
 San Marino
 Mr. & Mrs. Warren R. Howell,
 San Francisco
 Mr. & Mrs. David Huntington,
 Glenbrook, Nevada
 Mr. & Mrs. David James, Pasadena
 Mr. & Mrs. LeRoy F. Krusi, Danville
 Moore Dry Dock Foundation,
 San Francisco
 Newhall Land & Farming Company,
 Valencia
 Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Pike, San Marino
 Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
 Dr. Albert Shumate, San Francisco
 Dr. & Mrs. Pierre Violé, Los Angeles
 Mr. & Mrs. Irwin Welcher,
 San Francisco

BENEFACTOR

R. C. Baker Foundation, Los Angeles
 Mr. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
 Bixby Ranch Company, Los Angeles
 James G. Boswell Foundation,
 Los Angeles
 Buttes Gas & Oil Company, Oakland
 Chevron U.S.A., Inc., San Francisco
 Mrs. James S. Copley, San Diego
 Mr. & Mrs. O. Dewey Donnell,
 Sonoma
 Mr. & Mrs. David Fleishhacker,
 San Francisco
 Fluor Corporation, Los Angeles
 Dr. & Mrs. Harvey Glasser, Alameda
 William M. Hume Foundation,
 San Francisco
 Mr. & Mrs. Albert M. Jongeneel,
 Rio Vista
 Mrs. Western Logan, Oakland
 Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
 Mrs. Marian M. Miller, San Francisco
 Dr. Ynez O'Neill, Los Angeles
 Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
 Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
 Mr. Porter Sesnon, San Francisco
 Mrs. Robert J. Slobe, Sacramento
 Mr. & Mrs. E. Hadley Stuart, Jr.,
 Beverly Hills
 Sweco, Inc., Los Angeles
 Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco

ASSOCIATE

Bank of America N.T.&S.A.
 The Bank of California N.A.
 Beaver Insurance Co.
 Bechtel Corporation
 Becker Manufacturing Company
 Bernard Food Industries
 John Breuner Company
 Burnett and Sons
 Mr. & Mrs. Henry Cartan
 Chickering & Gregory
 Crocker National Bank
 H. S. Crocker Co.
 Crowley Maritime Corporation
 Del Monte Corporation
 Fred J. Early, Jr., Foundation
 Burnham Enerson
 Flax's
 Franklin Savings & Loan
 Crescent Porter Hale Foundation
 The W. W. Henry Co.
 Hill and Co.
 John Howell—Books
 Jaquelin Hume Foundation
 Earle M. Jorgensen Co.
 W. E. van Löben Sels
 Wilson & Geo. Meyer & Co.
 Robert Folger Miller
 Pacific Gas and Electric Company
 Peninsula Newspapers, Inc.
 Pope & Talbot, Inc.
 Price Waterhouse & Co.
 Anna Ruth Rothwell
 San Francisco Commercial Club
 San Francisco Federal Savings & Loan
 San Jose Mercury-News
 Security Pacific National Bank
 Southern Pacific Company
 Levi Strauss Foundation
 Waller Taylor II
 Title Insurance and Trust Co.
 Trans-Anglo Books
 Transamerica Corporation
 Tubbs Cordage Company
 Mark Twain's Notorious Jumping
 Frog Saloon
 Union Oil Company of California
 Foundation
 Union Sugar Division, Consolidated
 Foods Corp.
 Woodward's Gardens Veterinary Hospital

Donors

MAJOR

Atlantic Richfield Foundation,
Los Angeles
Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Mary A. Crocker Trust, San Francisco
Mr. Harrison Eiteljorg, Indianapolis
First Church of Christ Scientist, Bolinas
Mr. & Mrs. Hurford C. Sharon
Carter Hawley Hale, Los Angeles
Mr. Ivan B. Hart, Oakland
William Randolph Hearst Foundation,
San Francisco
James Irvine Foundation, San Francisco
Dr. Oscar Lemer, San Francisco
Ernest A. & Inez B. Lewis, Smartville
Mrs. Maurice Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. Michael Nadel, Los Angeles
Mrs. Arthur Samish, San Francisco
San Francisco Foundation, San Francisco
Elbridge & Mary Stuart Foundation,
Los Angeles
Ticor, Los Angeles
United Farmers and Ranchers
of America Inc., Fresno
Estate of Anita Wells, San Diego
Mr. & Mrs. Anthony R. White,
Hillsborough
Mrs. Jacquelin Wilson-Walker,
San Francisco

SUPPORTING

Bank of America, Los Angeles
Bank of America, San Francisco
Bank of America Foundation,
San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Hancock Banning II,
San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Bedford, Lafayette
Braun Foundation, Alhambra
Mrs. George C. Brock, Los Angeles
F. Patrick Burns Co., Los Angeles
Robert Carpenter, Los Angeles
Mrs. Thurmond Clarke,
Corona del Mar
Mr. & Mrs. Henry C. Clifford, Pasadena
Crocker National Bank, Los Angeles
Del Amo Foundation, Los Angeles
Ducommun Inc., Los Angeles
Dr. Frank Gerbode, San Francisco
George G. Hall, Orinda
Dorothea H. Harding, Berkeley
Haskin & Sells, Los Angeles
I. W. Hellman Foundation
The W. W. Henry Company,
Huntington Park
Hill & Company Real Estate,
San Francisco
Mrs. Lot D. Howard, San Francisco
Mrs. Walter L. Huber, San Francisco
John B. Huntington, Esq., San Francisco
Loomis-Sayles & Co., San Francisco
Cyril Magnin, San Francisco
Maryanne Mott Meynet, Santa Barbara
Mountain View Foundation, Pasadena
Mrs. Lionel Ogden, Los Angeles
Pacific Mutual, Newport Beach
Pasadena Foundation, Pasadena
C. L. Peck Contractor, Los Angeles
Mr. Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
Price Waterhouse & Co., Los Angeles
Laurance S. Rockefeller, New York

San Diego Federal Savings & Loan Assoc.
& Subsidiaries, San Diego
Security Pacific National Bank,
Los Angeles
Sidney Stern Memorial Trust
Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco
Arthur Young & Co., Los Angeles

